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GREGOROVIUS'

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ROME

IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. VI.—PART II.

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HISTORY

OF

THE CITY OF ROME

IN THE

MIDDLE AGES

BY

FERDINAND GREGOROVIUS

TRANSLATED FROM THE FOURTH GERMAN EDITION

BY

ANNIE HAMILTON

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The action brought by Albornoz against Cola's murderers was afterwards quashed, and an amnesty issued by the Pope.[1] The two civic factions again occupied the Senate, and everything seemed to have reverted to its former condition.[2] Meanwhile, the state of Italy invited the presence of Charles, King of Bohemia.

[1] Decree of amnesty of October 7, 1355. Theiner, ii. n. 312.

[2] Senators at the beginning of 1355: Ursus Andreae Orsini and John Tebaldi of S. Eustachio. Second half of 1355: Lucas Savelli and Franc. Jordani Orsini (Brief to Albornoz, November 8, 1354, Theiner, ii. n. 276). Vitale wrongly gives Guido Jordani as their successor. From documents I have established the series of senators beyond a doubt. The thirteen were in office on December 20, 1354. (Act declaring hostilities against Anagni. Sculcola, Posi, &c. Colonna Archives, *Scaf.* xvii. n. 65). Next, Ursus Andree Orsini and John Tebaldi ratify the Statute of the Merchants on March 11, 1355. Both appear on June 30, in the above-named Act. On August 27, 1355, *Lucas de Sabello* and *Franc. Jordani de fil. Ursi* ratify the Statute.

At this time, when the existing balance of power seemed about to be destroyed, the political life of the Italians centred round two cities, the Guelf republic of Florence, the last representative of national and municipal liberty, and Ghibelline Milan, where the reigning despot, the Archbishop John Visconti, transformed the city from a city-tyranny into a principality. After suffering a terrible defeat at the hands of the Venetians on August 29, 1353, even Genoa entrusted her signory to this powerful despot. Florence had long striven to unite Tuscany, the Romagna, Rome, and Naples in an alliance under the authority of the Pope, in order to impose a check on the Visconti and to keep the Emperor at a distance. A parliament had been convoked at Arezzo, and Clement VI. had at first zealously encouraged the scheme. But it was shattered by mutual distrust, and the Florentines at length found themselves obliged to desire the arrival of the King of the Romans, to deliver them from the threatening power of the Visconti.[1] For a moment they still hoped to see the successor of Clement VI. at the head of the Guelf league, and Charles's journey to Rome deferred; but finding themselves deceived, they were reluctantly forced to enter into negotiations with the King.[2]

[1] The documents which Canestrini has published (*Archiv. Stor. App.*, tom. vii. serie ii.) deal with these events.

[2] On February 15, Florence, Perugia, and Siena formed an alliance, which was to have been joined by the Church, King Lewis, the Malatesta, and other lords of the Romagna. On April 30, 1353, Florence sent Boccaccio to the Pope, to ask whether Charles came to Italy with his sanction. On November 14, 1354, in view of

He was next summoned by the Venetian-Lombard league, which consisted of the Doge, the Margrave Aldobrandini of Ferrara, the Gonzaga of Mantua, and the Carrara of Padua. This league had been formed in 1354 against John Visconti and had taken the company of Fra Monreale into its service. The King was even summoned by the Visconti, who offered him the Iron Crown, in the hope of winning him to their side. It thus happened that the grandson of Henry VII. was invoked by all parties as a deliverer. Charles promised his protection to the league and came in October 1354 to Italy, where the death of John Visconti, on October 5, seemed to smooth his way. The Pope even hoped that the King's presence in Rome would aid Cardinal Albornoz to effect the complete subjugation of the State of the Church, Charles having solemnly promised his aid in this object.

Charles IV. comes to Italy, Oct. 1354.

The grandson of the noble Henry possessed neither the ambition nor the enthusiasm of his ancestor, nor even any political aim with regard to Italy. His journey to Rome was undertaken solely for his coronation; the empire ended in an empty formula. The King of Bohemia, for his century a highly cultivated, religious, and modest man, a wholly modern prince, for whom the past belonged entirely to books, would no longer involve himself in the strife of

Charles's expedition to Rome, instructions are given to the envoys of Siena and Perugia to form an alliance with the communes of Tuscany. On January 17, 1355, instructions are given to Siena to plan the basis for negotiations with Charles. *Archiv. Stor.*, n. 51, 54, 61, 65.

Italian politics. He came to Udine on October 14, with only three hundred knights, proceeded in company with his natural brother Nicholas, the Patriarch of Aquileja, to Padua on November 3, thence to Mantua, where he passed the winter. Here he wished to reconcile the Lombard factions, and to negotiate with the Tuscans concerning his further progress.[1] The Pisans alone offered him the signory; the remaining cities of Tuscany looked with contempt on a prince, who appeared in such homely guise that it seemed impossible to regard him as a future emperor.[2] The Venetian-Lombard league found itself deceived, for Charles had no army, was wise enough to preserve a strict neutrality, and wanted nothing but the ornament of the Iron Crown. He induced the heirs of the Visconti to conclude an armistice until May. He persuaded them to give him 50,000 gold florins and a suitable escort for his journey to Rome. He promised not to enter Milan. But, contemptuously anticipating him, Matthew, Galeazzo, and Bernabò (nephews of John) went to meet the imperial traveller; they succoured his Bohemian

[1] Petrarch forthwith congratulated Charles, *Rer. Fam.*, xii. 1. The phrases repeated in his letter excite disgust. Charles invited the poet to visit him at Mantua, and Petrarch said, that Plato had not met with a more friendly reception from Dionysius. He was to accompany Charles to Rome, as in former days Alcuin had accompanied Charles the Great, that is to say, as cicerone. Petrarch thanked the King. De Sade, iii. 379.

[2] *Sommissione incredibile all'imperiale nome in fondamento de' suoi principii.* M. Villani, iv. c. 38. We may read here and in the following chapter with what contempt the Florentine republicans accompanied Charles's undertakings.

poverty, entertained him sumptuously at Chiaravalle, and obliged their guest, who showed a modest reluctance, to honour Milan with a visit. The powerful tyrants alarmed and tranquillised Henry's grandson with their military pomp and splendid festivities, and on January 6, 1355, allowed him to take the Iron Crown in S. Ambrogio from the hands of Roberto Visconti, Archbishop-elect of Milan.[1]

He takes the Lombard crown, Jan. 6, 1355.

Charles was relieved to escape from his magnificent captivity in this city. He continued his progress not like an emperor, but, as Matteo Villani says, like a merchant journeying to mass. The vassals of the Visconti escorted him from city to city, each of which closed its gates behind him. He breathed freely again in Pisa, where the Gambacorta received him with honour on January 18.[2] His wife Anna, several Bohemian and German barons, and 4000 knights here awaited him. These reinforcements gave him sudden prestige and terrified both Florence and Naples.[3] The cardinal appointed for

[1] On November 22, 1354, the Pope wrote to the Patriarch of Grado, that he might crown Charles with the Iron Crown, if the Archbishop of Milan would not or could not (Theiner, ii. n. 281); the Emperor was to be crowned with three crowns—with the silver in Aachen by the Archbishop of Cologne; with the iron in Monza by the Archbishop of Milan; with the gold crown in Rome by the Pope. The first signified *eloquentia et sapientia;* the second the power of punishing heretics; the gold: *conterat cornua elata rebellium ac presidio potencie, quam fulvor metalli aurei prefigurat, libertatem ecclesiasticam tueatur.* We may compare this papal definition with Cola's and that of the *Graphia.*

[2] For the Itinerary of Charles in Italy from Udine onwards, see *Reg. Imp.*, viii. (Huber).

[3] *Anchora veniente Karlo Re di Bohemia—a coronarsi a Roma, della cui venuta tutto lo reame trepidava;* thus writes the famous

the coronation came on behalf of the Pope. This was Peter Bertrandi of Ostia, who, according to ritual, should have been accompanied by the Bishops of Portus and Albano. These prelates, however, failed to appear, because the Church would not defray their expenses; and even the Bishop of Ostia, mindful of the ill-treatment of Cardinal Anibaldo, only came reluctantly and was obliged to bear the cost of his journey out of his own purse. According to the Pope's command, Albornoz, did his affairs permit, was to assist at the ceremony. Such were the preparations for an emperor's coronation in the middle of the fourteenth century. Nevertheless, the tradition of the empire was still a power which thrilled Italy with electric force on the approach of the Emperor. The majority of the Tuscan cities did homage to Charles at Pisa. Florence, deserted by the Guelf alliance, threatened by Milan, and in dread of the growing imperial army, lost courage and likewise yielded homage to the grandson of her mortal foe. The republic pledged itself to pay
Mar. 21, 1355. 100,000 gold florins; she obtained the revocation of the ban which Henry had pronounced against her, the ratification of her liberties and, after a long interval, again recognised the supremacy of the Emperor. The renunciation by the Guelf city of the principles to which she had hitherto been so steadfast, wounded the pride of all patriots and showed how universal was the political disruption of Italy.[1]

Grand-seneschal of Naples, Niccola Acciajuoli. Letter in Tanfani, *Niccola Acciajuoli*, Florence, 1863, p. 217.

[1] We may read what M. Villani says on the subject, iv. 72, 77, 78.

Nevertheless, Charles IV.'s love of peace, his calm, although utterly unimperial, demeanour, had accomplished a work which none of his most powerful predecessors had been able to perform. Guelfs and Ghibellines, wearied and enfeebled, Lombardy, even Tuscany, recognised the Germanic-Roman Empire; Guelfs as well as Ghibellines advanced to Rome under the imperial banner. Charles had been obliged to promise not to enter Florence. He left Pisa on March 22; on the 23rd he arrived at Siena, where a revolution in the civic government immediately took place. He departed on the 28th, and, following the route of his grandfather, proceeded to Rome. The Counts of Santa Fiora, of Anguillara, and the Prefect John of Vico brought the strength of his army to the number of 15,000 horse, among which were 5000 German knights, for the most part Bohemians.[1]

Rome received the Bohemian king with universal homage. On April 1—the Wednesday before Easter—he encamped on the Field of Nero. According to his humiliating promise, he was only to enter the city the day of coronation. But the pious prince, and undoubtedly with the papal sanction, roamed the streets, disguised as a pilgrim, and spent several days in visiting the churches.[2] To such a degree of abasement had fallen the now servile empire! On Easter Day Charles IV. with his wife received the

[1] Pelzel, *Gesch. Carl's IV.*, i. p. 445. In addition, E. Werunski, *Gesch. Kais. Carl's IV. und sein Zeit*, Innsbrück, 1880, 1886; *der erste Römzug Kais. Carl's IV.*, Innsbrück, 1878.

[2] *Quinque dieb. ante Pascha latitante in urbe, templaque visitante latenter.* Albert. Argent. Chron., p. 163. Probably only three days; Pelzel, as above; or on Good Friday and Saturday; Villani, iv. c. 92.

Charles IV. crowned as Emperor, Easter 1355.

desecrated crown from the hands of a cardinal, assisted by the city prefect.[1] The imperial pair made their coronation procession to the Lateran, when the Emperor, bearing the sceptre and orb, rode under a purple baldacchino, with two senators leading his horse.[2]

An emperor in the fourteenth century could only appear in the capital of his dominions the minute before his coronation, and could only sojourn there a few hours as a tolerated guest; for such were the commands of the Pope in distant Avignon! The Romans exhorted Charles to remain in Rome, and to assume the rights of the Imperium, or restore to the city her ancient freedom. He admonished them to be obedient to the Pope; and scarcely had he risen from the Lateran banquet when he announced

[1] *Cron. d'Orvieto*, Mur., xv. 684. The Prefect assisted and did not perform the coronation, as Villani wrongly supposes. The Pope had transmitted the *modus coronandi* (Bull, January 31, 1355, Theiner, ii. n. 288). Albornoz had ordered the Palace of S. Spirito to be prepared for his reception, but apparently did not come to Rome (Theiner, ii. n. 379). On June 14, 1355, at Pietra-santa, Charles IV. settled a pension of 2000 florins on the Prefect, and referred him for payment to Florence. (*Archiv. Reform. Atti Publ.*) As late as on March 21, 1367, he wrote to the Florentines, that they were to pay the sum in arrear to *Francesco Alme Urbis Prefecto, Batiste, Annesine, et Tradite, heredib. dicti Johis prefecti* (*Ibid.*). Again, on June 17, 1374, the same heirs demand the pension. Deed from *Roccha Terrae Vetrallae* (*Ibid.*). Charles also allotted a pension of 1000 florins to be paid by Florence to the cardinal who performed the coronation, *dat. Nuremberg., A.* 1355, *Ind. VIII. XIII. Kal. Jan.* (*Ibid.*).

[2] Both before and after the coronation Charles confirmed his promises and the privilegia of the Church. Raynald, A. 1355, n. iii. Theiner, ii. n. 291, 300.

that he was leaving the city on a hunting expedition. He laid aside the purple, mounted his horse, rode out of the gate, besought the monks of S. Lorenzo for shelter for the night, and the next day visited Tivoli, to view (as a lover of nature) the beautiful cascade, while the greater part of the German and Italian troops set forth on their homeward march.[1] The Bohemian Caesar was a practical man, who understood the changed condition of affairs. He is to be praised for having refused to throw the imperial sword among the factions of Italy; nevertheless, in that he did not take the imperial crown in German Frankfort or Aachen, as a man of the new age should have done, but instead went in utter abasement to receive it in Rome as a vassal of the Pope, he exposed himself to the contempt of contemporaries and after generations.

Charles's ignominious departure from Rome.

With the imperial crown in his travelling chest, Charles IV. hastened back to Siena, where he arrived as early as April 19, 1355. He was here persuaded by Albornoz to lend him German troops; the Ghibellines, headed by the Prefect of the city, exhorted him in circumstances so favourable to punish Florence in memory of his grandfather; Charles, however, replied that the defeat of Henry VII. was

[1] Dubravius, *Hist. Boem.*, book xxii. p. 181. *Instant Romani ut Augustus urbem Augustam tanq. hereditatem suam jure invadat, aut Romanos in antiquum statum restituat.* Petrarch says of Charles IV.: *excusat se, et Ecclesiae jurasse se jurat, ne amplius quam unum diem Romae ageret. O infamem diem, o pudendum foedus, o superi, en jusjurandum, en religio, en pietas, Romanus Pont. ita Romam suam deseruit, ut eam nolit ab alio frequentari, et de hoc cum Romano Imp. paciscitur!* (*Vita Solitaria*, ii. sect. iv. c. 3.)

due rather to the evil counsels of the Ghibellines than to the Florentines, and issued a privilegium for the republic, by which he appointed its Gonfalonieri imperial vicars in return for an annual tribute of 4000 gold florins.[1] After appointing his brother Nicholas vicar in Siena, he left this city on May 5, and went to Pisa. Here, owing to a report that for a sum of money he intended to give freedom to Lucca, a revolt broke out on May 20. The Palace of the Commune where the Emperor dwelt was set on fire. Charles and his wife escaped half dressed. The tumult was suppressed, but the Gambacorta, hitherto rulers of Pisa and friends of Charles, fell a sacrifice to the treason of their adversaries and the weakness of the Emperor, who allowed them to be beheaded. Siena rose at the same time and expelled the imperial vicar, and the revolution of the two cities strengthened Villani's opinion that the Tuscans were imprudent in subjecting themselves afresh to the intolerable tyranny of the Germans.[2]

[1] The original diploma, *Dat. Senis A.D.* 1355, *VIII. Ind. III. Non. Maji*, is preserved in the Archives of Florence. It bears a golden bull, which represents Charles seated on the throne with the legend: KAROLVS. QVARTVS. DIVINA. FAVENTE. CLEMENTIA. ROMANOR. IMPERATOR. SEMP. AVGVSTVS. ET. BOEMIE. REX., on the other side the image of Rome with AVREA ROMA in the gate of the city, and the ancient legend ROMA CAPVT MVNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTVNDI.

[2] Lib. v. c. 36. The Guelf Villani frequently inveighs against the Germans, and declaims against the election of German emperors by German electors: *quali hanno continovato a eleggere—all' imperio signori di loro lingua, i quali colla forza teutonica e col consiglio indiscreto e movimento furioso di quella gente barbara hanno voluto reggere—il romano imperio; la qual cosa è strana da quel popolo italiano che a tutto l'universo diede le sue leggi* (v. c. 1).

His departure from Pisa.

Charles, insecure and despised, left Pisa, in whose cathedral his grandfather slept, and on May 27 went to Pietra-santa, where he timidly shut himself up in the fortress. Instead of demanding satisfaction from the Pisans for his wounded honour, he asked for compensation like a merchant and pocketed the 13,000 gold florins which they contemptuously offered him. Urged by his anxious wife and by his barons, he left Pietra-santa on June 11 with 1200 horse. He found the gates of every city in Lombardy closed, on every rampart archers stationed, who appeared to defend the inhabitants not from his arms, but merely from his avarice. For two hours he stood before Cremona, imploring admittance until he was allowed entrance, with a few attendants and unarmed, like a traveller. When he told the rectors of the city that he wished to make peace among the Lombards, he was briefly answered that he need not trouble himself. The grandson of that Henry who had been celebrated by Dante hurried like a fugitive through Milanese territory and, as Villani says, appeared without honour in Germany, "with the crown, which he had obtained without a sword-thrust; with a full purse, which he had taken empty to Italy; with little glory for manly deeds and with great disgrace for the humiliated majesty of the empire."[1]

Petrarch, disillusioned, surveyed with humiliation

[1] M. Villani, v. 54. On June 27, 1355, Malvicini da Fontana writes from Ferrara to the signory of Florence, that Charles was hurrying through Lombardy; that all the cities were refusing him entrance; that his soldiers were being thoroughly searched; that none of the signors of Milan greeted him: *die et nocte equitans, ut in uga.* `*Archiv. Stor.*, vii. serie ii. n. 73.

Humiliation of the Imperium.

the figure of the Caesar whom he had so frequently invoked as a Messiah. He was ashamed that he had traversed, without drawing the sword, that Italy which Henry VII. and so many emperors had conquered by virtue of their heroism, and then abandoned it like a coward, to retain nothing of the Roman empire beyond barbarous Bohemia and the empty title of Emperor. He called after him indignantly: "What would thy father and thy grandfather say to thee if they met thee on the Alps?"[1] Charles might have calmly replied to the idealist, at whose vain enthusiasm he laughed, that they might have congratulated him on his prudence, since Italy had brought ruin to the greater number of emperors and had wasted the national vigour of Germany. Charles's pitiful imperial progress meanwhile showed the whole world that the Roman empire was extinct, that the world-historic alliance between Germany and Italy had perished by reason of a theocratic dogma, and that Dante's and Petrarch's dreams of a Messiah had no longer any historic justification. Finally, that the crazy Tribune of the people, with his scheme of erecting a Latin national empire, better understood the conditions of the age than the poets or the Ghibellines. Petrarch lamented that Germany had now no other mission in Italy than that of arming mercenaries for the destruction of the

[1] *O si in ipsis Alpium jugis avus tibi paterque sunt obvii quid dicturos putas—Famil.*, xviii. 12 (Cod. in the Angelica in Rome). *À propos* of an ancient head of a Caesar, Petrarch tells him, *quod vel si ipsa* (*effigies*) *loqui posset, vel tu illam contemplari, ab hoc te prorsus inglorio, ne dicam infami itinere retraxisset* (*Ibid.*).

republics, but was candid enough to admit that his venal country had merited its fate.[1] True that of the ancient imperial ties with Germany, scarcely anything remained in the middle of the fourteenth century, besides the German feudal families, now vicars of the emperor or pope, the despots of cities or provinces, and the dreaded companies of mercenaries, the stragglers of the ruined empire.

Charles IV. could not avenge the ill-treatment that he had experienced. His vicar in Italy, Markward, Bishop of Augsburg, brought suits against the Visconti, cited them before his tribunal, invaded Milanese territory with the band of Landau and the troops of the Este and Gonzaga in 1356, and was made a prisoner. The Emperor devoted himself with praiseworthy zeal to the welfare of his native Bohemia, and to the beautiful city of Prague, where he had founded the university. In 1356 he issued the golden bull, or the decree for the regulation of the empire, by which the election of the Roman emperor was placed in the hands of the electoral princes, who were already possessed of territorial sovereignty. This celebrated law was the basis of the formal system in which the now lifeless Holy Roman Empire of German nation was stereotyped. It pronounced the German royal election independent of the Pope, who consequently raised a protest against the golden bull.

The Golden Bull, 1356.

[1] *Germania nil aliud studet, quam stipendiarios latrones in Reipublicae exitium armare et a suis nubibus in nostras terras—ferreum imbrem pluit, dignum non inficior, quia volentibus accidit, Italia suis ipsa se juribus conficit, et si quando respirat, auri amor christi potentior, animos occupat. Vita Solitaria*, lib. ii. sectio iv. c. iii.

2. Albornoz reduces the State of the Church to subjection — The Vicars — The Rectors — The Government of two noble Senators is abolished in 1358—John Conti last Senator of Noble Family — Raymund de Tolomeis, first Foreign Senator — The Nobility excluded from the Republic — Seven "Reformatores" of the Republic, 1358 — Albornoz returns from Avignon—The Ordelaffo makes submission—Bologna comes under the Dominion of the Church—Bernabò Visconti lays claim to this City—Hugo of Cyprus, Senator, 1361—Corporations of the Crossbowmen and Shieldbearers —The Banderesi — War with Velletri — Plebeian Revolution under Lello Pocadota—Death of Innocent VI., 1362.

The journey to Rome of Charles IV., who had abandoned the tyrants in the State of the Church to their fate, had been propitious to the enterprise of Cardinal Albornoz. He subdued his adversary by force of arms or diplomatic skill. The Malatesta, harassed by Rudolf Varano (whom the cardinal had won to his side and made standard-bearer of the Church in the March of Ancona), yielded submission in June 1355 and, in return for a rent, received the vicariate of Rimini, Fano, Pesaro, and Fossombrone for ten years. The Counts of Montefeltro in Urbino did homage in July; Fermo followed suit in September 1355, and the Manfredi of Faenza a year later. Only the boldest of the tyrants of the time, Francesco Ordelaffi, lord of Forli, Forlimpopoli,

Cesena, Imola and Brettinoro, the sworn enemy of the clergy, the idolised darling of his subjects, with Marzia his heroic wife beside him, defied the arms of the legate, and jeered at the Crusade, to which Albornoz had summoned the whole of Italy against him.[1] Thus in 1357, with the exception of these cities, the cardinal was master of the entire State of the Church. The tyrants whom he had subjugated were not made into vindictive enemies, but, created vicars, became servants of the Church. The title of vicar or custos merely palliated, it is true, the theft of ecclesiastical property, which the tyrants annexed, and then caused themselves to be nominated papal governors. Thus was the State of the Church split into a hundred vicariates; but no other means remained of upholding the authority of the sacred chair.[2] To the cities, to which Albornoz appeared as a deliverer, he made it clear that the rule of the Church was the mildest of all governments. He protected their civic constitutions, but planted fortresses within their walls. When a rebellious city made submission, it did so by treaty. Its syndic appeared before the cardinal, admitted that since ancient times it had belonged to the Church, that

The vicariates in the State of the Church.

[1] Treaty with Malatesta on June 2 and 20, 1355 (Theiner, ii. n. 303); with Nolfus and Henricus of Montefeltro, July 26, 1355 (n. 308). The defence of Cesena by Marzia or Monna Cia forms one of the most remarkable episodes of the time.

[2] On December 29, 1362, Urban V. issued a bull to Albornoz, in which he forbade him to apportion the property of the Church to a series of noblemen *sub titulo vicariatus vel custodie . . . Terras quas possidemus, non intendimus alienare.* But such prohibitions could not be carried out. *Cod. Regin. Vatican.*, n. 385, fol. 265.

the authority which it had entrusted to a tyrant was a usurpation, that henceforward it would never accept a master as podestà without the sanction of the Pope, that it was ready to receive the legate of the Church, and that it begged to be restored to its former rights (*ad statum pristinum*). The syndic temporarily entrusted the Pope and his legates with the full dominion of the city. If on his knees and "with contrite heart" he acknowledged the guilt of the commune, implored mercy and took the oath of fealty on the Gospels, he received absolution and resigned the keys of the city and the charter of the dominium to the cardinal.[1] The obligations of the communes were set forth with precision in the articles, more especially the sums of money which they had to pay the Church, and the contracts varied according to the circumstances of each case. When Ascoli surrendered the dominium to Albornoz on June 14, 1356, the cardinal made the following conditions: that no outlaw was to return; that all the rights of the city were to be preserved; the commune was to elect six candidates, one of whom was to be ratified as podestà by the legate; no taxes were to be imposed by the rector of the Church; the legate was to build no fortress in the city, and the strongholds of the civic territory were to be garrisoned by the communes.[2] The wealthy and

The cities in the State of the Church.

[1] Deed of the subjection of Ancona, April 20, 29, and July 20, 22, 1356. Theiner, ii. n. 319.

[2] Theiner, ii. n. 321. The *Cod. Dipl. Dominii Temp.* contains for the period of Albornoz several documents, which explain the administration of the State of the Church. Statistics of the March of Ancona, 1356 (n. 325). A still more exact document concerning the

frequently disturbed city of Ancona and the Romagna knew how to preserve a greater measure of freedom than the Duchy of Spoleto and the Roman provinces. For here Albornoz used great severity to effect the subjugation of the Prefect. He reformed the constitution of the cities and restricted their autonomy; he recalled the exiles. In Viterbo he forbade the use of the party names of Guelf and Ghibelline, as Cola di Rienzo had formerly done.[1] The rector of the Patrimony of S. Peter sat not in ever defiant Viterbo, but in fortified Montefiascone. He was surrounded by a curia of judges, secretaries, and stewards. A military captain commanded the army, which was composed of the troops of the city and of mercenaries, chiefly German landsknechts.[2]

The rectors in the State of the Church.

Romagna and the March was compiled by order of Cardinal Angelico in 1371. The Romagna numbered at that time 346,444 hearths. Its yearly revenue amounted to 100,000 florins. With regard to Bologna the cardinal says: *quod dico de ista civitate, idem dico de omnibus locis et terris Eccl. Rom., nam quecunque sit illa, ad libertatem aspirat.* (n. 525 to 527.)

[1] Constitution issued from Cesena, July 21, 1357. *Ne aliquis—presumat partem aliq. Guelfam vel Gibellinam in civ. ipsa quomodolib. nominare publice vel occulte, sed solam partem S. R. E. matris sue colere.* Theiner, ii. n. 328. Viterbo was governed by a gonfalonier, priors of guilds and conservators. The rector of the Patrimony appointed a podestà. In August 1358 the Ghibellines scattered eagles made of paper (*pro subversione status Eccl.—Ibid.*, p. 380).

[2] See the *libri rationum* of the Treasurer of 1351–1359 (Theiner, ii. n. 338, 339). The yearly rent of the cities was insignificant. Narni paid 33 *libr. paparin.*, Rieti 25, Civita Vecchia 50. The annual revenue of the Patrimony yielded more than 18,177 *flor.*, 133 *libr. provis.*, and 12,699 *libr. paparin.* The soldiers were taken into service in troops of 15–30 horses (*postae vivae*) under a *Connestabilis*. The pay amounted to 6 *flor. pro posta* monthly. The rector of the Patrimony received 4 gold florins a day.

The Patrimony of S. Peter was divided into three provinces: the Patrimony proper in Tuscany, the Terra Arnulphorum, the mountainous country between Spoleto and the Nera, and the county of Sabina. Vicars ruled the two latter provinces. The rector of the Patrimony held parliaments or diets, to which the churches and convents, the barons and communes sent representatives, and in which laws were promulgated and sworn to.[1] The same institution prevailed for all the ecclesiastical provinces; each was ruled by a rector, whose curia was composed of the treasurer, the marshal of the province, the general judge for civil cases, the general judge for criminal cases, two collectors of taxes, and other officials.[2] These gentlemen, the majority of whom were Frenchmen installed in office for an uncertain period, were so many blood-suckers of the provinces which they administered.

Albornoz goes to Avignon, 1357.

Rome, although unwillingly, also obeyed the energetic cardinal. But in the second half of the year 1357 the civic constitution saw a sudden change, which was connected with the sudden recall of the legate.[3] At the same time that Italy was

[1] Paul Fabre, "Un registre caméral du Card. Albor. en 1364" (*Ecol. fr. Mél.*, 1887), in which are specified all the *castra* belonging to the Church in the Patrimony, and the barons.

[2] The most important office was that of the Thesaurarius. The *Thesaurar. gener. pro Rom. Ecc. in partib. Italie*, as Minister of Finance of the State of the Church, stood above the treasurers of all the ecclesiastical provinces, and was, generally speaking, a prelate of high rank.

[3] Senators in the first half of 1356: Sciarra Colonna and Nicol. Orsini of Nola; as late as July 8 (Archiv. Colonna, *Scaf.* xvii. n. 65). Second half of 1356: Ursus Orsini and Petrus Capocie de Capocinis;

overrun with bands of adventurers, even the Pope found himself reduced to grievous straits in Avignon by the company of the arch-priest of Vernia (Arnold of Cervolles, a member of the house of Talleyrand), and consequently summoned Albornoz to his aid. It is characteristic of the time, that in the summer of 1337 the dreaded cardinal was obliged first to purchase immunity with 50,000 gold florins for three years from Count Conrad of Landau, the head of the Great Company, who had entered the Romagna, before he could hasten to Avignon, where the Pope trembled in his castle on the Rhone in fear of the terrible arch-priest. The return of Albornoz to France caused the Romans once more to transfer the dominium to the Pope, and Innocent VI. immediately commanded the new legate, the Abbot Ardoin of Clugny, to appoint senators in Rome.[1] Meanwhile an important innovation was introduced; the dual senatorship of nobles, which had governed the city for upwards of a century, was for ever abolished, and with the year 1358 a single senator was appointed. John, son of Paul Conti of Valmontone, of the house of Innocent III., closed the long series of senators belonging to the noble families of the Colonna, Orsini, Savelli, Anibaldi, Capocci, Conti, Bonaventura, Malabranca, Frangi-

Abolition of the dual senatorship in Rome, 1358.

they ratify the Statute of the Merchants on October 10. First half of 1357: Petrus Jordani Colonna and Nicol. Riccardi de Anibaldis, who ratify it on April 10. The senators for the second half of the year are unknown.

[1] Brief of November 4, 1357 (Theiner, ii. n. 331) . . . *dominium nec non senatus—officia nobis ad vitam nostram voto unanimi noviter concesserunt.* . . .

pani, Pandolfi, Tibaldi, Stefani.[1] The fact constitutes a turning point in the history of the city, the transition from the Middle Ages to modern forms.

The reader of these volumes is aware that the power of the Roman families owed its origin to the Papacy and empire. Influential houses had been founded by the popes. Roman nobles had filled the bishoprics and the cardinals' college until the period of Avignon. The long struggle of the German emperors with the popes, and the opposition between Guelfs and Ghibellines, had lent importance to the civic nobility. All these conditions had vanished with the removal of the popes and the decay of the imperium, and during the visits to Rome of Henry VII. and Lewis the Bavarian the civic nobility had appeared as a force for the last time. The revolution under Cola had broken its power. The French popes translated into action the ancient fable of the dragon's seed sowed by Cadmus. They allowed the Roman nobility not only to ruin themselves, but to be ruined by the democracy. No less influential towards the overthrow of the hereditary families was the energetic rule of Albornoz. When the great suppressor of tyrants returned to Avignon in the autumn of 1357, his opinion determined Innocent VI. henceforward to appoint only a single senator, and that a foreigner,

[1] Paul Conti alone ratifies the Statute of the Merchants on January 8, 1358, and appears in a long deed concerning a quarrel between the Orsini and Anibaldi about the *Castrum Verposa* (now Bonriposo near Ardea) on March 9, 1358, in Nerini *de Templo*, p. 521.

in Rome. The successor of John Conti in the autumn of 1358 was consequently Raymund de Tolomeis, a knight of Siena. With him begins the long series of the foreign senators of Rome.[1] The Pope, following the example given by the podestàs of the thirteenth century, appointed the senators from Italian cities and only for six months, with a revenue of at first 2500, then only 1800, and finally 1500 florins for their term of office. They brought with them their curia, six judges, five notaries, two marshals, their knightly retinue, twenty armed troopers, and an equal number of berverii or men-at-arms. Before entering on office, they swore to the statutes of the city, and on renouncing it, became subject to the syndicate, entirely in accordance with the republican forms adopted in Brancaleone's time.[2]

Raymund de Tolomeis, first foreign Senator in Rome, 1358.

The Roman people were pleased with the innovation, which they had long and frequently requested from the Pope. But beside the papal senator it placed a democratic civic council, endowed with such absolute powers that it necessarily followed it must soon rule supreme. Thirteen men, entrusted with political and administrative authority, had formerly been appointed beside the senators; in their place, in 1358, a council of Septemvirs was instituted, who completely changed the constitution

[1] He ratifies the Statute of the Merchants on October 31, 1358. Ugurgieri, *Le Pompe Senesi*, i. 307, correctly gives him as the first *Senator forensis*, but is mistaken in the dates and the sequence of succeeding senators.

[2] What has been said in vol. v. holds good with regard to the *Senator forensis*.

Introduction of the Seven Reformatores of the republic, 1358.

of Rome, gave the people the sovereignty, and entirely thrust the nobility out of the State. "Seven *reformatores* of the republic," elected by the people, were instituted as the guards and advisers of the senators, the overseers of the administration, the true heads of the civic commune. The priors in Florence had served as their models.[1] Like the priors, they changed office every three months, and were elected by ballot. But few names of such old noble families as had made common cause with the people are found among the "reformatores"; since in place of the celebrated houses, the Fasti of the Capitol were filled with the names of ancient "popolani" or petty nobles, and even families of less account in time acquired distinction, owing to their members being appointed to the magistracy, and thus formed a new nobility.[2]

Return of Albornoz to the Romagna, Dec. 1358.

These important innovations were made during the absence of the great cardinal. On his return to the Romagna in the beginning of December 1358, he found all that he had previously effected imperilled by the incapacity of his successor Ardoin,

[1] They first appear on July 28, 1358, during the senatorship of John Conti: *Nos septem Reformatores Reipublicae, et Vicarii Magn. viri Johis de Comite Alme Urbis Sen. Ill. absentis de Urbe. . . .* Nerini, p. 521.

[2] On October 27, 1360, the Statute of the Merchants is ratified by the *Reformatores reip. ad. urbis reg. deputati secund. formam capitulor. confirmator. per D. Legatum decreto et auctor. Sacri senatus.* Their names are: *Bucius Sanguigni, Joh. Quadracie, Barthol. Lelli, Joh. magistri Angeli, Petrus Picciaronis, Silvester Pauli Vecchij, Nardus Pauli Nicoli.* Already, on December 12, it is ratified by other reformatores, among them a *de Cancellariis*, a *Bobo, Buccabella, Stephani*, members of the ancient, though not ruling, civic nobility.

while the war with the Ordelaffi so completely engrossed him that he could not pay any attention to Rome. On July 4, 1359, the high-minded tyrant of Forli surrendered unconditionally to the magnanimous cardinal in Faenza, and was appointed vicar of Forlimpopoli and Castrocaro for ten years. Even Bologna, where John of Oleggio acted as governor for his relative Bernabò (who by a trick had constituted himself tyrant as early as March 1360), submitted by treaty to the authority of the Church. But, since Bernabò Visconti made good his claims to the vicariate of this city, Albornoz was soon involved in bitter war against him.

War with Bernabò Visconti.

The Ghibelline family of Visconti, whose fortunes had been founded by Matteo in the time of Henry VII., had rapidly risen to power. Their history is filled with terrible crimes, but also with deeds of great energy, foresight, and administrative ability. The arms of the Visconti were a viper, an appropriate emblem. Matteo's sons, Galeazzo, Lucchino, the Archbishop John, and Stephen, had greatly increased the power of the house. After the death of the archbishop in 1354, Matteo's grandsons, of whom Bernabò, son of Stephen, was the head, had risen to dominion. The wealth of the tyrants of Milan surpassed that of any European prince. The King of France himself did not disdain to give his daughter Isabella in marriage to Gian Galeazzo, a nephew of Bernabò. With this Bernabò, one of the most cruel tyrants of the Middle Ages, Albornoz had now to wage the most dangerous of all his wars, and the task kept the cardinal far from

Rome.[1] As senators he had here installed the knight Lodovico de Rocca of Pisa in the first half of 1359, Ungarus of Sassoferrato in the second, and the distinguished Thomas of Spoleto in 1360.[2] He and the Pope looked with suspicion on the democratic septemvirs, whom the Romans resolutely kept in office. The cardinal ratified their appointment by a covenant. While the senatorship consequently fell under the power of the Pope, the popular autonomy sought refuge in the magistracy of the seven reformatores; for the Romans had been obliged to renounce the right of electing the Senate and had only obtained from the Pope the privilege of henceforth proposing six candidates, one of whom was chosen senator. Thus Rome was reduced to the level of other cities, where under the same forms the Pope was accustomed to appoint the podestàs.[3]

[1] Bologna was powerful; in 1371 it numbered 8000 hearths. In the university there were seven professors of canon law, with an income of 300 florins, ten of civil law, eleven *in Medicina et in Artibus*. Theiner, ii. n. 526.

[2] His full name is Thomas de Planciano: Letter of the seven Reformatores to Florence, October 10, 1360 (Archiv. Reform., lib. xvi., Capitoli, fol. 96). On May 18, 1360, the Pope wrote to him and the reformatores to help the legate to reduce Campania and the Maritima to obedience. Theiner, ii. n. 348.

[3] Brief of September 2, 1360. Theiner, ii. n. 356. A covenant between the legate and Rome is evident from the formula: *juxta formam capitulor. per D. Legatum factor.* The statutes were probably reformed at this time. Vitale dates their reform in 1358. He asserts that an undated copy of these reforms is in the Vatican; but the passage which he quotes agrees word for word with the Capitoline Book of Statutes of 1469 and the *editio princeps* of 1471. I find the formula, *juxta formam statutor. novor. urbis*, in the codex of the Statute of the Merchants for the first time on December 19, 1364.

A celebrated prince filled the senatorship in Rome from March until October 1361: Hugo of Lusignan, grandson of the King of Cyprus. He had visited Avignon with the object of making good his rights as pretender to the crown against his uncle Peter, and of prosecuting the war against the Turks.[1] But before he departed on the latter errand, the Pope sent him as Senator to Rome, apparently in the hope that his presence would act as a restraint in the city, where the Seven still maintained a despotic rule, made war on Corneto and Civita Vecchia, and, it was said, had an understanding with Bernabò Visconti, while the inhabitants of the Patrimony, crushed by taxes levied for the war, threatened to revolt. The Prince of Lusignan, however, found no occasion in Rome for his military talents, but, powerless to do anything, left the administration of the city to the reformatores.

Hugo of Lusignan, Senator, 1361.

Where were the formerly ambitious and powerful Colonna, Orsini, Savelli, and Anibaldi during this time? They seemed buried; their name is never heard. The great families were in fact excluded from the service of the republic, as Petrarch had advised that they should be. The people reduced them to the level of provincial barons, and also deprived them of leadership in the army. For precisely at this time,

The great civic nobility are thrust out of the Roman republic.

[1] Hugo's appointment is dated August 12, 1360 (Theiner, ii. n. 359); recommendation to the Romans, n. 357. He left Avignon on January 1, 1361, was recalled on the way, and only arrived in Rome in March. Brief, January 8, 1361, to Mary, Empress of Byzantium, Hugo's mother, and to the Reformatores. Vitale, p. 290. Hugo signs the Statute of the Merchants on April 30: *Nos Hugo de Lisignann dei gr. Alm. Urb. Sen. ill. et capitaneus secundum formam capitulorum. . . .*

a new and entirely democratic militia, after the Florentine model, was formed in Rome; this was the archers. In the middle of the fourteenth century, when gunpowder was already beginning to change the mode of warfare, the iron-mounted crossbow still counted as the most formidable weapon.[1] The bows remained the chief arms of the mercenaries, the Germans, Swiss, and Hungarians; for guns, the use of which would have cleared Italy of these hordes in a brief space of time, had not yet been introduced. In 1356 the Florentines had formed a militia of 800 crossbowmen, and had raised some other thousands in the civic territory. The art of shooting was encouraged by the State. In Florence, as in all other civic communes, every holiday was devoted to the practice, and prizes were offered for competition.[2] Had not the warlike spirit of the citizens already perished, the institution might have proved exceedingly beneficial; for the deliverance of Italy

[1] Gaye, *Carteggio*, i. 469, quotes a decree of February 11, 1326, according to which the Florentine priors were to nominate *officiales ad fatiendum pilas seu palloctas ferreas et canones de metallo in defensione communis flor. et castror.* The use of cannon was general in Italy even before 1344, as is shown by a remarkable passage of Petrarch (*de Remed. utriusq. Fortunae Dial.*, 99) where the poet inveighs against the new discovery, which was to transform the world, as impious: *Non erat satis de coelo tonantis ira Dei immortalis, nisi homuncio (o crudelitas juncta superbiae) de terra etiam tonuisset. Non imitabile fulmen, ut Maro ait, humana rabies imitata est.—Erat haec pestis nuper rara—nunc, ut rerum pessimarum dociles sunt animi, ita communis est, ut quodlibet genus armorum.* See Muratori, *Dissert.*, xxvi.

[2] Shooting matches, such as take place to-day. M. Villani, vi. c. 81, 82.

from the bands of freebooters could only be accomplished by the armament of the entire population and the reform of the national militia. The Florentine guild of archers was imitated by several cities. After 1356 the Romans also instituted the "fortunate company of the crossbowmen and shield-bearers" (*felix societas balestrariorum et pavesatorum*) as if in remembrance of the *felix exercitus* of earlier centuries. This military brotherhood was organised according to regions, and formed a guild with political rights. Four chiefs (*antepositi*) constituted their superior council, probably after the model of the Great Company. Their heads were the two standard-bearers (*banderenses*), at whose command the archers in every region were to hold themselves ready. These *banderesi*, however, soon attained an almost tyrannical power. They had been mainly introduced to strengthen the rule of the reformatores by military power, and to destroy the nobility. For while the Seven constituted the highest officials of government, the banderesi were the executors of justice, and had been modelled on the Gonfalonieri delle Companie in Florence.[1] Their office was for a time highly desirable for the security of the democracy, and their strict justice gave safety to both city and country. They frequently penetrated into the Campagna, to judge and to punish. Bello Gaetani, uncle of the Count of Fundi, was hanged by them as a robber. In their capacity of leaders of

The companies of the crossbowmen and shield-bearers, 1356.

The power of the banderesi.

[1] This is said by M. Villani, and at the same time he calls the people of Rome *mobile e inconstante, e senza alcuna ombra di morali virtu*, ix. c. 87.

the archers and executors of justice, these dreaded tyrants of armed right, with their council of four archers, sat beside the reformatores in the supreme council of government (the *consilium speciale*), just as in Florence the standard-bearers of the companies took their place as colleagues beside the "signors" of the republic.[1] Their name, which was taken from the banners which they carried, extended to all the authorities of the guild of archers, and in the time of their greatest power came to include even the whole signory on the Capitol.[2]

[1] Thus on November 30, 1363, when the ex-Senator *Guelfus de Pulgiensibus* was recommended to Florence. This document is signed: *Bonifacius de pistorio miles Alm. Urb. Sen. Ill. Septem Reformatores Reip. Romanor. Banderenses, et Quatuor antepositi fel. soc. balestrerior. et pavesator. dicte urbis.* Archiv. Flor. Capitoli, xvi. fol. 96. On the other hand, in 1362 similar reports are only signed by the seven Reformatores.

[2] With Villani, ix. 51, all historians of the Senate wrongly hold the *Banderesi* to be captains of regions. In documents the two offices are always separate. The *Band.* belonged to the Guild of Archers and are always spoken of together with the 4 *Antep. fel. Soc. Ba. et Pa.* Document of August 8, 1385, Marini, *Archiatri*, ii. 66. The four are frequently called their (*eorum*) *consiliarii*. Concerning the extension of the term *Banderenses*, see *Diar. Anton. Petri*, Mur., xxiv. 989. Their only monument in Rome is a rude sculpture on the funeral cippus of Agrippina in the court of the Palazzo dei Conservatori: a shieldbearer and a crossbowman, between them the arms of the city. Below, the arms of these families, and two banners with the figure of a shieldbearer and an archer. Above: RVGITELLA DE GRANO: (the measure of grain *rubiatella* was equal to 300 lbs.). The cippus had been taken from the Mausoleum of Augustus and used as a measure for grain. The Banderesi lived on or beside the Capitol. A deed says: *ante est via publica que dicitur lo mercato, et ab alio via per quam itur ad Domos olim Banderesium.* (Register of the property of the *Hospit. ad Sancta Sanctor.* of 1410, Archives of this hospital.) Camillo Re (*Il Campid.*, p. 113)

After Hugo of Cyprus had quitted the city, Count Paul de Argento of Spoleto became Senator in the autumn of 1361, and Lazarus de Cancellariis of Pistoja in 1362.[1] During the rule of the latter the Romans made war on Velletri. They subdued the revolted town in May 1362, tore down a portion of its walls, and carried its gates as trophies to Rome.[2] But the war blazed up again and raged for years. While the provincial nobility, in their desire for revenge, took part against the Romans, their conduct produced internal revolution. The exclusion of the aristocracy from the republic rendered the democracy unbridled. In the summer of 1362 the populace banished the nobles who still dwelt in Rome, even the Cavalerotti, and an audacious shoemaker called Lello Pocadota set up as demagogue. The nobility now took the Italian company "del Capello" into its pay, while the reformatores engaged German and Hungarian mercenaries, raised 600 civic cavalry, and held a review in Rome, in which no fewer than 22,000 infantry took part. Nevertheless, the insecurity was so great that the people again made submission to the Church. They offered the

War between the democracy and nobility.

seeks for this palace on the spot occupied by the later Palazzo dei Conservatori.

[1] The former signed the Statute of the Merchants on October 29, 1361, the latter on June 13, 1362. The Roman *Bufali* were a branch of the *Cancellarii;* they bore the same arms, with the sole addition of a buffalo's head.

[2] On May 12, *Laczarus de Cancellariis* and the seven Reformators announce this victory to the Florentines, when they make use of Virgil's phrase: *juxta antiquam decentiam populi Ro. cui est innatum: parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.* Archiv. Flor., lib. xvi., Capit., fol. 96.

dominium to the Pope, but under condition that Albornoz was to exercise no jurisdiction within the city.[1] The cardinal was more dreaded here than was the Pope. He had allowed the noble families to be destroyed, but he met the degeneration of the democracy with severity. He was as little tolerant of barons setting up as rulers in the cities, as of the Seven appointing podestàs within them: he determined to introduce uniform constitutions, to which Rome was to submit no less than Viterbo, Ancona, or Orvieto.[2] It was, however, only with the new Pope that a treaty was effected.

Death of Innocent VI., Sept. 12, 1362.

Innocent VI. died on September 12, 1362. He was the best of the Avignonese popes; an earnest man, anxious for the welfare of the Church and its people, if not altogether free from nepotism. During his rule, thanks to the talent of Albornoz, the State of the Church had been reduced to submission amid circumstances of unparalleled difficulty. The tedious wars, it is true, had swallowed up huge sums of money, and the acquisitions made with such mighty efforts might be suddenly lost. But as Innocent VI. lay on his deathbed, he saw all the provinces of the Church subject to her rule. Only one formidable enemy, Bernabò Visconti, who, sword in hand, laid claim to Bologna, remained unconquered in Italy. All the other tyrants bowed before the Church. The

[1] M. Villani, xi. c. 25, relates these events, and takes the opportunity of expressing his astonishment at the utter decadence of Rome.

[2] On April 19, 1361, the Pope forbade the seven Reformatores to appoint Romans as governors in Campania and the Maritima. *Reg. Epistolar. Innoc. VI.*, Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdot.*, ii. Ep. 97.

Malatesta, the Este, the Ordelaffi, the Manfredi now stood, for the most part, as vassals in her service, and even Rome, successfully released from the tyranny of the nobility, recognised the signory of the Pope. A year before his death Innocent had seriously entertained the thought of visiting the city, to which the Emperor offered personally to escort him, but age and illness prevented him carrying out his design.[1]

3. URBAN V., POPE—WAR AGAINST BERNABÒ—ROME DOES HOMAGE TO THE POPE—ROSSO DE RICCI, SENATOR, 1362 — PEACE WITH VELLETRI, WITH BERNABÒ—POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF ALBORNOZ—REVISION OF THE STATUTES OF ROME—CONTINUED RULE OF THE REFORMATORES AND BANDERESI—THE BANDS OF MERCENARIES—THEIR ORIGIN AND ORGANISATION—THE COUNT OF LANDAU—HANS OF BONGARD—ALBERT STERZ—JOHN OF HABSBURG—JOHN HAWKWOOD—FLORENCE TRIES TO FORM A LEAGUE AGAINST THESE BANDS—TREATY WITH THE WHITE COMPANY—EXERTIONS OF THE EMPEROR AND POPE FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BANDS—LEAGUE OF FLORENCE, SEPTEMBER 1366.

William, son of Grimoard from Grisac in Languedoc, originally a Benedictine, then a professor in Montpellier, Abbot of S. Victor in Marseilles, but never a cardinal, became the successor of Innocent VI.[2] He was nuncio at the court of Queen Joanna,

[1] Letter to Charles IV., Avignon, April 28, 1361. *Ibid.*

[2] His father, *Guillaume de Grimoard*, was lord of *Grisac*, *Bellegarde and Montbel*, his mother, *Amphélise*, daughter of the Count

Urban V., Pope, 1362–1370.

whose husband Lewis was dead when he was elected Pope on October 28, 1362. On November 6 he ascended the sacred chair at Avignon.

The continuation of the war against Bernabò was the most important work that awaited the new Pope, for since Ezzelino the Church had been harassed by no such bitter enemy. He no longer recognised the Pope; he annexed all the ecclesiastical property; he tortured monks and clergy with refined cruelty; one day he forced a priest of Parma to pronounce the anathema against Innocent VI. and the cardinals from the top of the high tower. His forces harassed Albornoz to the utmost. Innocent had moved heaven and earth against Bernabò and had entreated the princes of Europe to lend their support for the preservation of threatened Bologna. Urban V. with equal zeal and more ability now urged the Crusade against the tyrant, whom he had excommunicated as a heretic.

The Romans hastened to confer the dominium of their city on the new Pope; he recognised their democratic constitution, which remained unaltered.[1] After November 1362, Rosso de Ricci of Florence was Senator, a severe and upright man, who strung up defiant barons on the Capitol, and suppressed a revolt of the nobility. On the expiration of his office,

Montferrand. Urban was born in 1309. Magnan, *Hist. d'Urbain V. et de son siècle*, Paris, 1862, cap. i.

[1] On October 8, 1362, the seven Reformatores ratify the Statute of the Merchants. Although Innocent VI. had died on September 12, they still sign with the year of his reign, which is curious, since the news must have reached Rome in three weeks. On May 6, 1363, *de Riceis* as Senator ratifies the Statute. On August 21, 1363, *Guelfus de Prato.* On September 2, 1363, the seven Reformatores again.

the Romans sent him to Florence with an honourable proof of their esteem. Their letter of May 30, 1363, besides the signatures of the seven reformatores, bore also those of the banderesi and the four chiefs of the balestrieri and shieldbearers, whence it follows that the captains of the bands were already attached to the supreme council.[1]

Rome remained tranquil, but the nobility, especially the house of Orsini, were in revolt in the provinces. These barons now summoned to their aid the band of Annichino, who scoured the country from Tuscany to the very gates of the city.[2] The return of the Pope was all the more urgently desired. A solemn embassy invited Urban V. to Rome in the spring of 1363; he put the people off, as his predecessors had done.[3]

Guelfo de Pulgiensibus of Prato and Boniface de Riccardis of Pistoja were successively Senators before the end of 1363.[4] In the autumn of the following

[1] Vitale. I find, however (Archiv. Flor. Cap., xvi. fol. 97), a letter of the seven Reformatores, the Banderesi, and the four councillors to Florence (April 8, 1363), which shows that these captains of the archers sat in council before 1363. They ask for lions for the Capitol: *scimus karissimi fratres septem Reformatorum . . . Banderesium et 4 Antepositorum, qui nos in officio precesserunt—precibus pluries fuisse subgestum, nob. militi D. Rubeo de Riciis civi vestro et nunc Senatoris officio presidenti, quatenus*, &c. Their predecessors had proffered the same request to *Filippus de Machiavellis* when he came to the city before Christmas.

[2] In September 1363 Constance Orsini surrendered eight fortresses to Annichino *aciò facesse guerra al comune di Roma.* Graziani, *Cron. di Perugia*, Archiv. Stor., xvi. p. i. 195.

[3] Letter, Avignon, May 23, 1363. Theiner, ii. n. 382.

[4] Papencordt is mistaken in his assertion (p. 433) that Guelfo was banished. For on November 30, 1363, his successor Boniface, the

year Albornoz effected peace with Velletri, for which the Pope had been urgent; since, as he wrote to the Romans, with the sole exception of this war, weapons rested throughout Italy.[1] Indeed, the whole country enjoyed an interval of repose, the war between the Church and Bernabò having been ended (on March 13, 1364) by a peace effected by the intervention of the Emperor and the Kings of France and Hungary. By the terms of this agreement the Visconti renounced their claims on Bologna and received an indemnity of 500,000 gold florins. The enemies of Albornoz, who after huge exertions had succeeded in preserving this city, the jewel in S. Peter's crown, threw suspicion on him, and he came to Avignon in answer to letters of recall. He must have been wounded by the fact that Cardinal Ardoin, whom the Pope had sent to Bologna at the conclusion of the peace, and whom he himself distrusted as incapable, took his place as legate. His task was ended; he could rest on his laurels, while the Pope appeased his discontent and urged him to remain in Italy as legate for Naples.[2]

Reform of the Roman statutes.

The great statesman dedicated his zeal to legislation in the State of the Church, to which he strove to give uniformity of organisation. To this period belongs the reform of the Roman statutes, which

seven, and the chiefs of the archers write in great praise of his government. Archiv. Flor., *ut supra*, fol. 96. He was still Senator on September 24, 1363. Archives of the Capitol, t. 63.

[1] Letter, Avignon, September 19, 1364. Theiner, ii. n. 394. Borgia, *Stor. di Velletri*, p. 315.

[2] There is a beautiful letter of sympathy, written to him by Urban, in which he speaks of the fate of all great men to be sacrificed to envy. Raynald, A. 1365, n. x.

were compiled into a civic code in 1363. Albornoz ratified the constitution, by which the nobility were excluded from public offices. The popular rule of the reformatores and banderesi still continued, either at the side of the foreign senator, or without him, as in 1365. At the end of 1364 Francesco Ugolini de Archipresbiteris, Knight of Perugia, was Senator, but during the following year the Senate was administered only by the seven reformatores. This undoubtedly took place with the consent of the legate, and only under this condition could the Roman people have accepted peace with Velletri.[1] The guilds wished entirely to remove the senator, whose maintenance was a burthen to the city; but they were unable to succeed in their object. John de Rodio of Aquila was nominated for the first half of 1366; he was again followed by the reformatores; then in the autumn of the same year Bindus de Bardis of Florence became Senator.[2] But we must not suppose that these changes were always due to revolutions. The reformatores and the heads of the

[1] *Fran. D. Hugolini de Archipr. de perusio* ratified the Statute of the Merchants on November 8, 1364. On January 1, 1365, the Pope wrote to him that he might remain in office (Theiner, ii. n. 397), but he no longer appears in documents. On December 19, 1364, the Statute is signed by the Seven, so also on June 6, August 3, and October 7, 1365. The formula: *Nos sept. Reform. Sen. officium exercentes de mandato dictor. dnor. Sept. Reform. et eorum assectamenti* shows that there was no senator at the time.

[2] John de Rodio ratified the Statute on February 3, 1366. Concerning him, see Vitale, p. 299. It is ratified by the seven on October 4, 1366. Bindus, November 5, 1366. The Seven and the captains of the archers dismiss Bindus to Florence with honourable testimonials on April 28, 1367. Archiv. Flor. Capitol., xvi. fol. 97.

balestrieri formed, on the contrary, a permanent authority, who provided for the government whenever the senator abdicated, or when there was no senator at all. At this period the anarchic rule of the nobles and the struggle of the factions had entirely ceased, so that Rome had seldom enjoyed such a degree of order. The institution of the militia of archers was beneficial; it rendered the city capable of resisting the mercenary bands, but did not preserve the Roman Campagna from the devastations of those freebooters, who became increasingly formidable.

Rise and character of the mercenary bands.

From the middle of the fourteenth century onwards the errant soldiery constantly acquired greater preponderance. France, released from its war with England, and dismembered Italy were the natural theatres for their activities. Contemporary historians could not understand how it happened that so many men of the higher nobility, so many brave warriors, joined these brigand hordes; nor could they comprehend how these companies rose, as it were, afresh in a single night, and traversed unpunished the fairest provinces. They explained this symptom of a disease organic to society as due to the influence of the planets or as a divine judgment.[1] The contemporary world, in which the great institutions of the Middle Ages—empire, Church, feudal monarchy, chivalry, the patrician constitutions of the cities—fell to decay, was in a state of dissolution and in search of a new social form. The bands of mercenaries were the proletariat of European society, which was

[1] M. Villani, ix. c. i.

breaking out of its ancient grooves. Chivalry, formerly the splendid association in which manly vigour and custom found their legitimate forms, had been overpowered by the growing culture and prosperity of the burgher class; its ancient spirit disappeared, and the knight degenerated into the errant soldier of fortune. The same middle class ousted the hereditary aristocracy from the republics; whence it followed that the idle nobles sought occupation in military affairs and henceforth appeared as condottieri; as did even the Colonna, Orsini, and Savelli of Rome. The fall of the aristocracy, the conservative class which rested on hereditary landed property, was at the same time one of the main causes of the dissolution of the ancient communal constitution. For it robbed the communes of the spirit of chivalrous honour and of military energy, the loss of which could not be replaced by the burgher class, consisting as it did of workers, and resting on the movable power of capital. After Rome and Florence had expelled the nobility, the defensive force of the two republics gradually declined.[1] Industry and prosperity made the citizens useless for defence; they hired mercenaries like the communes of antiquity in the time of the decline of Greece. Tyrants set up as rulers with the aid of these same mercenaries.[2] Thus a lawless condition of brute force and despotism was everywhere produced. While

[1] Macchiavelli (*Ist. Flor.*, iii., at the beginning) speaks of these consequences.

[2] Well pointed out in Ercole Ricotti's *Storia delle compagnie di ventura in Italia*, Flor., 1846; especially in the beginning of vol. ii.

the States now lay prostrate, society formed leagues for attack and defence. The spirit of association was all-powerful both in a good and a bad sense. The same means offered ruin and salvation. This is the age of leagues of both a political and a social nature, the military brotherhoods, the societies of knights, the confederations of cities, confraternities of every tendency, and in every country of Europe.

This state of things began in exhausted Germany with Henry VII.; in Italy with the exile of the Papacy and the fall of the Neapolitan monarchy; in France with the war of succession with England, which almost annihilated the kingdom of Philip le Bel. By reason of its relations with the whole world, Italy was more especially the arena for the mercenaries of all nations. The mercenaries of Navarre and France; the English, who had been drawn thither by the wars; the Germans, who through the relations of the empire had constant dealings with Italy; the Poles and Bohemians, who had accompanied Charles IV.; the Hungarians, who came to Italy with the house of Anjou, all streamed into the country in crowds, especially when a treaty of peace threw them out of employment. For nowhere was there a standing army. The war of the Church against the Visconti, the hostilities between Montferrat and Milan, between Siena and Perugia, constantly offered the mercenaries fresh occupation. Every signor and every city required their services. They themselves were errant military states, admirably ordered. The leaders of these *barbuti* (as they were called on account of their helmets), clad in mail

from head to foot, were surrounded by a council of four captains for the cavalry (*cavalieri*), and by an equal number for the infantry (*masnadieri*). Important affairs, moreover, were, according to republican custom, submitted to the parliament of all the corporals. Constables, marshals, corporals, formed various grades in this military association, according to the *bandiere*, or squadrons into which the company was divided.[1] There were judges and notaries, and treasurers, who distributed the booty and salaries and administered the finances. A troop of women, kidnapped nuns and willing courtesans, accompanied these bands, at whose approach all fled in terror, and who left famine and pestilence behind. Their motley camp was a market, where the spoils of convents and cities were sold by a crowd of merchants, while great Italian banks stood in commercial relations with the captains, who deposited their plunder at interest. The companies held negotiations with princes and republics according to diplomatic forms, as equal with equal. They received their representatives at the little council of war or in great parliament; they sent procurators and orators to the States; they received and drew up in documentary form treaties to which every captain added his seal in lead or red wax.[2] The main object of all these

[1] The troopers were called in general *Barbutae seu armigeri galeati vivi.* A *lancia* was composed of three horses and three men; five mounted soldiers formed a *posta viva;* five *postae* a *bandiera* or *squadra.*

[2] Treaties such as these, to which sometimes the seals of twenty condottieri leaders are appended in a row, are preserved in the Archives of Florence and Siena.

negotiations was solely the extortion of money. When Cardinal Albornoz through envoys requested the Count of Landau to leave the State of the Church, the condottiere replied with unabashed candour: "My lords, our manner of life in Italy is universally known. To rob, plunder, murder those who resist, is our custom. Our revenues depend on mortgages in the provinces which we invade. Those who value their lives buy peace and quiet by heavy tribute. If therefore the Signor Legate wishes to dwell at unity with us and to secure tranquillity to all these cities, then let him do like the rest of the world, that is to say, pay, pay! Take this answer to your master quickly; for I will not guarantee that nothing unseemly shall happen to your most revered persons, if I find you still here an hour hence!"[1] The great cardinal with blushes did frequently what all the world did—purchased immunity from the brigands.

The companies of Landau, Hans of Bongard, and Albert Sterz.

While Landau's company flourished, the mercenaries of another German adventurer, Hans of Bongard, whom the Italians called Annichino, were no less dreaded. At the same time Englishmen also appeared in Italy; for in 1361 John of Montferrat led "the White Company" from Provence against Galeazzo Visconti. The Pope had even given money to this company in order to be rid of it, and enable it to march against Italy. Besides a thousand other scourges the White Company brought the plague with them. They consisted chiefly of English,

[1] André, *Hist. polit. de la Monarchie pontif. au XIV. siècle*, p. 337; Sugenheim, *Gesch. des Kirchenstaats*, p. 273.

Gascons, and Germans under the command of Albert Sterz, who was soon after joined by Otto, Duke of Brunswick, in the service of the same margrave.[1] In 1364 a Habsburger, Count John, also entered Italy as a mercenary leader. With Ambrogio Visconti (bastard of Bernabò) he commanded the company of S. George. From far and near the Pope, the legates, the princes and cities of Italy summoned foreign mercenaries into the unhappy country. Albornoz himself had hastened to Hungary to procure mercenaries from King Lewis, and Charles IV. was incessantly requested to provide them. In 1364 the Englishman John Hawkwood, "the falcon in the wood," who had come to Italy with Sterz, placed himself at the head of the English company. The Pisans first took him into their pay; afterwards he became the most celebrated of all the mercenary leaders and was for years the friend of Florence. The republic, which refused a grave to Dante, erected a monument in honour of the brigand in her cathedral.

John Hawkwood.

Owning neither towns nor territories, these companies of freebooters were already more powerful than the little Italian States, and the fate of the country lay within their hands. It was only the absence of any national tie that hindered them from acquiring the actual sovereignty of Italy, as it had been acquired by mercenaries in the time of Odoacer. Their brilliant model was the earliest mercenary band of a political character, that great company of

[1] Several letters of Urban V. are addressed: *dilecto Filio nobili viro Alberto Stertz societatis Anglicorum in Italia existentium Capitaneo. . . .* Theiner, ii. n. 388.

Catalans, whom Roger de Flor had led against Byzantium, and who had conquered the dukedom of Athens in 1311. As early as 1349 Florence had attempted to form a league against these freebooters. Albornoz had incessantly striven for the same object, but not until after the conclusion of peace with Bernabò was the Pope able to take more vigorous measures. On September 15, 1364, Urban V. exhorted Florence, Pisa, and all the Italian communes to unite in expelling the bands.[1] The common danger once more offered the Italians the opportunity of uniting in a league; but party passions and weakness prevented its formation. All that took place were some isolated attempts at deliverance. In order to render the White Company innocuous and to prevent its alliance with the company of the Star, Albornoz and Queen Joanna formed a contract with the former, which, under the command of the knight Hugh Mortimer, numbered 5000 horse and 1000 foot. They pledged themselves, in return for 160,000 gold florins, to serve the Church and Naples for six months against all enemies, especially Annichino, and to spare the State of the Church and the kingdom for five years.[2] The treaty was only

[1] Archiv. Stor., vol. xv. n. 15, 16.

[2] *Condotta*, concluded *in burgo Castri Pessine* in the Abruzzi, January 14, 1365 (Theiner, ii. n. 399). The captains were: *Hugo de Mortimer, Dom. de Lasuchia capit. gen. albe Societatis, dom. Nicol. comes de Thodi Ungarus, Andreas de Belmonte, Johes Birche Conestabilis* and *Ugynus Ecton* (Acton). The band could enter the city in *numero competenti, horis—debitis, et pro necessitatib. eor.* The Church and the Queen treat them *tamq. servitores et benevolos eorum—et maxime civitates Romana et Neapol. tractent predictos de*

partially successful. Annichino stood with 10,000 armed men in Tuscany, where he took Vetralla in March 1365. Rome trembled before him. The White Company, which was to be under the conduct of Gomez Garcia, a nephew of the cardinal, as Captain-General of the Church and Naples, showed itself refractory. Gomez secretly left the camp and went to Orvieto. The English pursued him. Had they formed an alliance with Annichino, things would have gone badly for the State of the Church. But Gomez had already come to an understanding with him, and Annichino surprised the English near Perugia, and completely routed them.[1] These events show how hopeless was the condition of Italy.

Vain endeavours of the Pope and Emperor to extirpate the free-booters.

The Emperor had come to Avignon in May of the same year, where he had formed a plan with the Pope for the extirpation of the bands. They wished to remove them from France and Italy, and to turn them against the Turks. The Pope charged Albornoz to persuade them; but the mercenary leaders mocked at both Emperor and Pope. During the winter Annichino's company held itself entrenched in Sutri, and devastated the Sabina and Tuscany with fire and sword. The following year the Campagna suffered a like fate at the hands of Hawkwood's company, which pushed from Naples across the Liris. Roman envoys implored the Pope to return and to save the capital of Christendom

societate tanq. caros amicos et fratres benevolos. Signed and sealed by several corporals with English, German, Hungarian, and Italian names.

[1] *Cronaca d'Orvieto*, Mur., xv. 688.

from ruin. On April 13, 1366, Urban V. issued a bull of excommunication against the companies, the scum of all nations, who were in the act of thrusting the Church, the kings and princes from their respective countries, and there establishing their permanent seat. He required the mercenary leaders to disband their forces within a given time, and to surrender the occupied cities. He forbade all princes and republics to employ them in their service, and all nobles and communes to serve under their banner. He pronounced infamous all members of a company down to the fourth degree. In his despair he called on the Emperor, the princes and bishops, the cities and peoples of the world to unite for the extirpation of these terrible hordes, and promised plenary absolution in return.[1]

The bull was read from every pulpit in Italy, and the condottieri answered it in derision with fresh outrages. These soldiers of fortune were aware that their power was far too great to be shattered by an excommunication, and that neither tyrants, republics, nor even the Church herself could dispense with their services. They scarcely feared the league which had been formed by the Pope, knowing too well the seeds of decay which every alliance of the kind bore within it. On September 19, 1366, the

[1] Bull *Clamat ad nos de terra multor. fidelium effusus sanguis. Aven. Id. April. Pont. A. IV.* (Theiner, ii. n. 410). The Pope calls on God to annihilate them; invokes the angel Michael and the stars that fought against Sisera; he prays that the Lord will strike them with blindness, like the Assyrians.

Italian league concluded by a congress of the cities in Florence, under the presidency of the papal legate. It embraced the State of the Church, Naples, and Tuscany; the Roman people, however, who had sent no envoy, were also to enter it.[1] But the league was dissolved in December 1367, because envious Florence protested against the Emperor's taking part in it.

Italian league against the mercenary bands, Sept. 19, 1366.

4. URBAN V. RESOLVES TO RETURN TO ROME—OPPOSITION OF THE FRENCH AND THE CARDINALS — PETRARCH'S SATIRES ON AVIGNON — HIS LETTER OF EXHORTATION TO URBAN, 1366—HIS APOLOGY FOR ITALY AND ROME—URBAN'S REASONS FOR LEAVING AVIGNON—HIS VOYAGE TO ROME, 1367—THE FLEET IN THE HARBOUR OF CORNETO—URBAN'S LANDING—HE GOES TO VITERBO—DEATH OF ALBORNOZ — TUMULT IN VITERBO — URBAN'S ENTRY INTO ROME, OCTOBER 16, 1367.

Urban V. had already formed the resolution of returning to Rome. In May 1365 he had been strengthened in it by Charles IV., who promised personally to escort him. The fervent entreaties of the Romans and of all Italian patriots at length obtained a ready hearing in the sixth Avignonese pope. But scarcely had Urban announced his

Urban V. proposes to return to Rome.

[1] Acts of the alliance, Florence, September 19, 1366, Archiv. Stor., xv. n. 19. From fear and in her own interest Florence excepted from all attack four bands, those of Ambrogio Visconti, Hawkwood, Annichino, and John of Habsburg. The principle of the league was thus violated from the first.

great resolve when a storm broke forth against it. Charles of France, all the courtiers and cardinals in the sacred college, with the exception of the three Italians, opposed the idea.[1] Filled with patriotism and national prejudice, troubled concerning the loss of their power in the Curia, these prelates trembled at the thought of exchanging luxurious Avignon for deserted Rome. They dwelt on the banks of the Rhone in princely indolence; revelled in their palaces in the luxury of both East and West; while the abuses of the ecclesiastical administration filled their coffers with wealth.[2] France and Italy contended for the possession of the Pope, and their national jealousy already revealed the growing schism. On one side stood the egoism of the French, which wished to transform an exceptional condition into a law; on the other the historic right of the Italians, who maintained that Rome was the seat chosen by God for the two "summits of the world," the emperor and the pope. The weak arguments of the French were scarcely supported by

[1] Nicholas Capocci of S. Vitale, Rainaldo Orsini of S. Adriano, Marco of S. Prassede, who were joined by Angelico, brother of the Pope.

[2] Some idea of this wealth is given by the Inventory of Cardinal Hugo Rogerii who died in Avignon on May 26, 1364. In a coffer were found twenty-two purses each containing 5000 gold florins; several others with thousands of gold and silver coins of Italy, France, England, and Spain—hard cash to the value of more than 200,000 gold florins. Baluze, *Vitae Pap. Avign.*, ii. 763. The delightful parable, told by the Minorite *Jean de la Roche Taillade*, of the arrogant naked bird, which the other birds deck with their most beautiful feathers, illustrates the luxury of the cardinals. Froissart, iii. c. 27.

pointing out the decadence of Rome and the disruption of Italy, since at this time France herself also resembled a desert.

The satires of Petrarch against Avignon breathe a patriotic hatred, which must be regarded as the true expression of the Italian national feeling. He calls Avignon now Babylon, now the hell in which Cerberus devours everything; not a city, but a seat of demons; a sink of every vice that bears a name. He compared the Pope to Nimrod, the builder of towers. His letters are full of the most interesting descriptions of life at the papal court, and the corrupt manners of that Damascus, where everything was venal, and where all innocence was swallowed up in the whirlpool of sensuality. His love of forsaken Rome, which amounted to fanaticism, rendered Petrarch unjust. Avignon, to which he owed the object of his poetic enthusiasm and perhaps his glory, was in his eyes the scapegoat laden with all the vices that belonged to the Curia of the age, and not to the innocent soil of Provence. The French might not unreasonably have maintained that these vices had been first introduced by the Italians, and that Avignon had afforded the pope not an exile but an asylum.[1]

Petrarch's invectives against Avignon.

On June 28, 1366, in a long letter, Petrarch exhorted Urban V. to return to Rome. This memorable document bears traces of weariness and age, but

Petrarch exhorts the Pope to return to Rome.

[1] Petrarch, *Ep. sine titulo*, 7, and following. In his introduction to the *Lives of the Avignonese Popes*, Baluzius defends the innocence of Avignon, if not that of the Curia, and turns against the Italians the saying: *Sedem Petri et Eccl. Romanam illic esse ubi Papa est.*

its bold language reflects a republican period, and is no longer intelligible. As he had written as a youth to Benedict XII., as a man to Clement VI., so now in his old age he wrote to Urban V. With fearless earnestness he attacked the vices of the Curia and the selfish vanity of the cardinals, and exhorted the Pope to do his duty as Bishop of Rome.

Since the sixteenth century the opinion of mankind has pronounced Italy the Paradise of Europe, but in the fourteenth Petrarch was obliged to defend the merits of his country against the French. He also proclaimed the natural beauty of Italy. The Provençals cherished the vaguest ideas concerning its climate, its products, and the people who inhabited Virgil's Garden of the Hesperides. To them, Italy lay outside the world, and the passage across the Alps and the voyage across the Mediterranean appeared equally formidable. Petrarch was obliged to tell them that the journey both by land and water was alike enchanting. He drew the first descriptions of the beauty and fruitfulness of Italy, which he called the fairest country under heaven.[1] He even defended Rome; the land

[1] *Nihil omnino sub astris Italiae comparandum, pace omnium gentium dixerim ac terrarum.* The Mediterranean was the sea of Italy—therefore no French lake, as the French afterwards maintained: *ita ne hoc totum, quod Mediterraneum vocant mare, si Italici nolint, nisi occulto latrocinio nulla gens naviget.* The wine of Burgundy (*Bennense*, of Beaune) plays a chief part; and it is amusing to see how earnestly Petrarch combats this ground of the hesitation of the cardinals by upholding the excellence of Italian wine (*Rer. Senil.*, vii. 1. Congratulations on Urban's return, ix. 1). The French, however, did not relish the wine of Italy; Urban had wine brought from

round the city was fertile, and access to it was open by the Tiber; the effeminate cardinals could thus easily procure their Burgundy from Beaune. It was absurd to suppose that twenty or thirty spiritual fathers could not live in Rome, where three hundred *patres conscripti*, where so many emperors and princes, innumerable citizens and foreigners had dwelt in abundance. He reminded Urban of the danger from the Turks; the Church was threatened in the East, and he, the Pope, instead of going to Rome, or even to Constantinople, to meet the enemy, hid himself in a corner of the West. The poet reminded him of the Tribunal of God, where he would one day have to give an account, if Christ asked him why he had fixed his seat on the rock of Avignon instead of the Capitol, which had been chosen by God. "What wilt thou answer when Peter says to thee: I fled from Rome before Nero's wrath; my Master reproved my flight and I returned to Rome to die; tell me what Nero or Domitian drove thee from Rome? Wouldst thou rather rise at the last day among the infamous sinners of Avignon, than between Peter and Paul?"

Reasons for the return of the Pope to Rome.

It was not, however, the appeal of the genius whom he so highly revered that induced Urban to take the great step. His sojourn in Avignon had become insecure; like his predecessors, he had been disgracefully obliged to purchase immunity from the mercenary hordes. The terrible war with England

France in 1368: 60 *Buttas vini de Belna* (Beaune) *et de Grureyo, et totidem vini de Nemauso vel de Lunello . . . pro usu hospitii nri.* Brief, Montefiascone, July 29, 1368 (Theiner, ii. n. 425).

had thrown the affairs of France into confusion. The country resembled a desert visited by robbery, famine, and pestilence. In 1361 the Black Death had carried off 9 cardinals, 70 prelates, and 17,000 men of the people in Avignon. The Papacy, dwarfed by its dependence on France, its energies relaxed by local limitations, required for its recuperation the historic air of Rome. The exodus of the popes to Avignon was an anomaly. Rome demanded the return of its exiles by a necessity founded in history. This necessity was the theocratic city, the seat of the Church, hallowed by legend, history, and the faith of mankind. Without its walls, the Papacy lacked that mystic veil which removed it from the searching gaze of the world. The long residence in Avignon had torn this veil, had even profaned it, and had exposed the Church to the critical enquiry of the West. However just the dictum of the Avignonese may have been in principle, namely that the pope represented the Church wherever he might find himself, it was nevertheless an incontrovertible truth that outside Rome, in any circumstances whatever, he could only appear a homeless exile.

Owing to the genius of Albornoz, the State of the Church had again been rendered subject to the sacred chair. The Florentine league was formed; another league with the tyrants of North Italy for defending the State of the Church against the threatening power of Bernabó was about to be formed. The sea-ports promised vessels for the voyage; the Emperor himself offered his personal

escort. And what was more natural than that the Emperor of the Romans should conduct the Pope back to the Eternal City? What grander spectacle could be offered Italy than the solemn entry of the two heads of Christendom into long forsaken Rome? At an imperial diet at Frankfort it was resolved that the Emperor should take the journey to escort the Pope. Urban V. expressed to Charles his joy at the determination; he desired the Emperor's presence for the pacification of Italy; but he feared to irritate the powerful Bernabò, who wished to keep Charles IV. at a distance.[1]

Departure from Avignon of Urban V., April 1367.

With determined courage Urban left Avignon the last day of April 1367. Five cardinals remained behind. Petrarch has drawn an ill-natured exaggerated picture of the condition into which the prelates fell, like so many wailing women, when on May 20 the vessels put to sea from Marseilles and their native land vanished from sight. They lamented as though, instead of being princes of the Church on their way to the capital of Christianity, they were being carried to Bagdad as slaves of the

[1] On September 15, 1366, the Pope wrote to Bernabò, that he wished to await the Emperor in Viterbo, and go to Rome *pacifice et non ad alicujus turbacionem* (Theiner, ii. n. 417). A second soothing letter, on October 8 (n. 421). Letter to Charles, October 30; the Pope desires Charles's coming to clear Italy of the mercenary bands (n. 426). The Master of the Knights of S. John was to accompany the Emperor. See Charles's Privilegium for the Master (February 5, 1367), where he declares: *Wanne der geistliche Chunrat von Brwnsberg, Meister der Crewtzger sant Johans orden des spitals zu Jerusalem in Dewtschen Landen, Unser lieber andechtiger, von seynes ordens wegen mit uns ziehen wil mit gewapneten leuten, zu geleiten Unser geistlichen Vatter den Papst in seynen stul zu Rom.* . . . (n. 428).

Turks.[1] The sumptuously equipped fleet of sixty galleys, furnished by Naples, Venice, Genoa and Pisa, covered the sea like a floating city. They touched at Genoa on May 23, where Urban was received with indescribable rejoicings, as Innocent IV. had previously been. He remained here five days. On June 1st he reached the harbour of Pisa; on the 4th the fleet entered the port of Corneto. Corneto was at this time the centre of a wealthy grain-producing district; its beauteous towers are celebrated by contemporaries and still lend a mediaeval aspect to the city.[2] A countless multitude received the Holy Father on the shore. Nobles from the Romagna, Spoleto, and the March, envoys from Orvieto, Pisa, and Florence, from Siena, Perugia, and Viterbo, counts, barons, bishops, and abbots from far and near, reverently knelt on the shore of the State of the Church, again trodden by a pope for the first time for more than sixty years. A staircase covered with hangings had been erected in the sea and richly ornamented tents along the beach. As he stepped ashore, Urban V. was greeted by the man without whom he would never have ventured on the voyage; for Albornoz was the chief instrument in bringing the Papacy from Avignon back to Italy. As the great vanquisher of tyrants, who, after tedious wars,

He lands at Corneto on June 4, 1367.

[1] *Rer. Senil.*, ix. Ep. 2. For the Pope's journey see the *Iter Italicum Urbani V.* in Baluz., *Vitae*, ii. 768, and the *Prima Vita Urbani.*

[2] Petrarch: *Cornetum, turrium et spectabile oppidum, gemino cinctum muro* (*Itiner. Syriac.*, Opp., p. 557). *Tellus Corneti, nimis opulenta fertilisque es decorata turribus* (Petr. Amelius, *Itinerar. Gregorii XI.*, Mur., iii. 2, 702).

had subjugated Rome, Tuscany and Spoleto, Umbria, the Marches, the Romagna to the sacred chair, who had but just also recovered Assisi for the Church, now knelt before Urban, an aged world-weary man, he seemed to embody the State of the Church which rendered homage to its master. The Pope read mass on the shore, then entered Corneto, which was decorated for the occasion. He remained five days in the convent of the Minorites, and there solemnised the festival of Whitsuntide. Envoys from the Capitol soon appeared; they conferred the full dominium of Rome upon him and gave him the keys of S. Angelo.

He advanced by Toscanella to Viterbo. On June 9 he made his entry into the restless capital of the Patrimony, which had been the residence of the popes in the latter half of the thirteenth century and in whose cathedral four of them lay buried.[1] He made his dwelling in the fortress built by Albornoz, and determined to remain some time, to adjust Italian affairs and to receive the nobles and envoys, who were afterwards to accompany him to Rome. The heats of summer were at hand; if the Pope took the cardinals (many of whom, journeying by land, had only joined him at Viterbo) to Rome at this unhealthy season, terror would probably cause their death. In Avignon Charles IV. had promised to meet him in Viterbo, but he failed to appear. Italy longed for the return of her Pope, but not for that of her Emperor.

He enters Viterbo, June 9, 1367.

[1] See the work of Francesco Cristofori, Knight of Malta, *Le Tombe dei Papi in Viterbo*, Siena 1887.

Several great vassals of the Church came to Viterbo; envoys from the cities of Italy daily arrived with splendid retinues. On August 5 a league was formed between the Pope, the Margraves of Este, the lords of Mantua and of Padua for the preservation of their property. It was directed against the Visconti, and the Emperor promised it his protection. But the active life at Viterbo, which restored to the Pope the consciousness that the Church was still a power in Italy, was crossed by a shadow in the loss of Gil d'Albornoz. The great cardinal died on August 24 in the castle of Bonriposo near Viterbo, before he had been able to conduct the Pope back to Rome. For fourteen years he had been legate in Italy and had fulfilled his mission amid the most difficult conditions. He had seen the tyrants at his feet; the cities re-established; he had promulgated a code of laws for the March, the Romagna and other provinces, which was published in a general parliament of the provinces at Fermo in 1357. Afterwards revised and confirmed by Sixtus IV., this code, under the name of *Aegidianae*, remained valid in the State of the Church until recent times.[1] Albornoz was the most gifted statesman who ever sat in the college of cardinals.[2] Italy,

League of Viterbo, Aug. 5, 1367.

Death of Gil d'Albornoz, Aug. 24, 1367.

[1] See Constitution xv. of Sixtus IV., May 30, 1478, which refers to the *Aegidianae*. *Bullar. Vatican.*, i. 317; by a bull of July 30, 1538, Paul III. also declared them obligatory in the State of the Church. Magnan, *Hist. d'Urbani V.*, p. 211. The earliest editions of the *Aegidianae* are those of Rome, 1473, and Perugia, 1481. See Vito La Mantia, *Origini e vicende degli statuti di Roma*, Firenze, 1879.

[2] According to Graziani's Chronicle he died of pestilence. All the

which had feared or loved him, mourned his loss. The enemies whom he had overcome admired his energy and honoured his magnanimity; his friends in him wept their most faithful support. Bologna, which he had wrested from the power of its tyrants and had provided with beneficial institutions, still preserves his memory.[1] In accordance with his will, the remains of the cardinal were interred in the church of S. Francesco at Assisi, and thence removed to Spain. The Pope bestowed the jubilee indulgence on all who had borne the coffin for a distance on their shoulders. Nobles and princes, among them Henry of Castile himself, undertook the office, and the dead was thus brought from town to town to Toledo, and in S. Ildefonso placed in a marble tomb, which bears no other adornment than the name Egidius Albornoz.[2] Rome preserves no record of his memory; it is even uncertain whether Albornoz ever entered the city.

The doubtful picture of happiness and reconciliation, which Italy offered Urban V. as his first welcome, became clouded on the death of the man whom the Pope had called the strongest pillar of the

chronicles are full of his praise. There is a well-known legend, that Albornoz, called by the Pope to account for his administration, loaded a car with the keys of the cities he had recovered and sent it to him.

[1] He had built an aqueduct to Bologna. His foundation, the *Collegium Albornozianum*, for the education of young Spaniards, still exists there. But I found the library empty of documents.

[2] Cardella, *Mem. de' Cardinali*, ii. 177. The life of the cardinal written by Genesius de Sepulveda (*Liber Gestorum Card. Aegidii Albornotii*, Bologna, 1521) is an unimportant work. It begins with his will, *dat.* Avignon, September 26, 1364.

Popular rising in Viterbo, Sept. 5.

Church. On September 5 he was terrified by a tumult in Viterbo. The inhabitants of this city, educated in democratic forms, were irritated by the insolent manners of the French courtiers and attacked the houses of some cardinals, with the cry, Death to the Church! The prelates fled to the fortress under the protection of the Pope, but the fortress itself was besieged by the rebels. The gates of the city were barred and barricades erected. The uproar lasted three days, during which armed men from neighbouring towns arrived for the deliverance of the Pope. The chronicler of Orvieto maliciously observes that the tumult had been got up by the cardinals themselves, in order to prejudice the Pope against Italy. Meanwhile the storm passed over and the citizens made submission. But the interdict, which Urban had been obliged to impose on the capital of the Patrimony, and the sinister sight of the gallows that had been erected, must have deprived him of all feeling of security.[1]

Departure of the Pope from Viterbo, Oct. 14.

On October 14 he finally left Viterbo under the escort of the Margrave Nicholas of Este, whom he had awaited. After three days' march the papal cortège stood before the city. It was Saturday morning, October 16. When Petrarch exhorted Urban V. to return to Rome, he told him that the

[1] The Pope himself recounts these events in his Bull of Absolution for Viterbo, Rome, December 1, 1367 (Theiner, ii. n. 434). Even Florence had sent aid. On September 10, Urban thanks the city; the help was no longer necessary. On the 13th he begs Florence to give passage to the troops which Pisa was sending to escort him to Rome; on the 16th he asks for 300 barbuti for the same purpose. (*Archiv. Flor. Commune di Firenze con Roma*, t. xlvii. n. 8, 10, 11.)

angels themselves would receive him at its gates. But if heavenly spirits descended to attend Urban's solemn entry, the warlike sound of trumpets and drums and the long procession of mail-clad horsemen must have driven them terrified away.[1] The Vicar of Christ entered the sacred city like a general prepared for war, or a conquering king at the head of an army. We renounce the attempt to describe the feelings which must have assailed Urban's mind, when he saw before him the venerable cathedral of S. Peter, the walls, the towers, the ruins of the Eternal City. The people, the magistrates, the clergy with palms, flowers and banners, streamed forth with sacred songs to receive the husband, who at length returned to his disconsolate Rome. He was accompanied by the celebrated Count Verde, Count Amadeus of Savoy, Nicholas of Este, Rudolf of Camerino, the Malatesta, countless barons and knights, and the gonfaloni of several cities. The procession began and ended with some thousand cavalry and a greater number of infantry. The Pope rode a white mule, which Italian princes led by the bridle, while the lord of Camerino held the banner of the Church over his head. Eleven cardinals, the majority of whom looked gloomily and suspiciously around, came with him. More than 2000 bishops, abbots, priors, clerics of every degree preceded or followed him. It seemed as though the Pope was bringing the clergy of

Urban V. enters Rome, Oct. 16, 1367.

[1] *Quid signis militaribus opus est? Satis esset crux Christi!—quid tubis aut buccinis? Sufficit Alleluja. Apologia contra Galli calumnias.* Opp. Basil., p. 1073.

Christendom back to S. Peter's after a long imprisonment. They entered the sacred basilica. Here Urban threw himself down in prayer at the grave of the Apostle, and then took his place on the cathedra, on which no pope had sat for sixty-three years. He entered the Vatican. The palace had been shabbily prepared for his reception; like S. Peter's, like the whole of Rome, it presented an aspect of comfortless decay.[1]

[1] For the entry, see the *Vitae* of this Pope, the chronicles of Bologna (Mur., xviii. 482), of Rimini (xv. 910), of Este (p. 488), and the *Iter Italicum Urbani V.* From France the Pope had previously sent *Gaucelin de Pradalho* to Rome, to restore the Vatican palace.

CHAPTER II.

1. Petrarch congratulates Urban — France and Italy—Condition of Rome—Urban abolishes the Banderesi, and installs Conservators—Charles IV. comes to Italy—He and the Pope enter Rome—The Emperor leaves Italy—Perugia defies the Pope—The Emperor of Byzantium in Rome—Urban announces his resolve of returning to Avignon—Dismay of the Romans—S. Brigitta in Rome—The Pope attests the good conduct of the Romans—He embarks at Corneto — His Death at Avignon, 1370.

The return of the Pope to Rome appeared to the contemporary world both as a great event and a religious action. "When Israel came out of Egypt, and the house of Jacob from among the strange people": with these words from Psalm cxiv. Petrarch began his letter of congratulation to Urban, who had only now become the Vicar of Christ and successor of S. Peter, and had cancelled the sins of five predecessors and of sixty years in a single day. The zealous Italian again defended his native country. He said that it was childish even to compare France and Italy; since everything glorious that the world possessed, all art and learning, were

due to the Italians; the greatest poets, the orators, the philosophers, the Fathers of the Church were of Latin race, and the empire, like the Papacy, a Latin product.[1] The French already called Italy the land of the dead;[2] but if even Petrarch was forced to lament that, owing to wars and the long absence of emperors and popes, Rome was reduced to ruin, he pointed with pride to the flourishing vigour of Florence, Bologna, Venice, and Genoa. He exhorted the Pope to repopulate and restore Rome, the most beautiful place, according to Virgil, on which the sun shone, and also to revive her ancient and honoured customs.[3]

Appalling picture of the state of Rome.

The poets of this period had represented Rome in the form of a widow mourning in dust and ashes, and Urban V. encountered the depraved genius of the city in perhaps a still sadder form. As he cast a glance over Rome from the desolate Vatican, as he passed through the city in procession, he must have turned away appalled, and have confirmed the unfavourable judgment of his courtiers.[4] To the ruins of antiquity were added those of Christianity, to the destroyed temples the destroyed churches. S. Peter's was falling to decay; S. Paul's had already lain for years on the ground; the Lateran had again

[1] In spite of his elementary study of Greek, Petrarch overlooked Homer's native land.

[2] *Esse ibi quosd. tuor. Cardinalium, qui negari non posse consentiunt, magnum aliquid fuisse Italiam, nunc eandem fere nihil esse.*

[3] *Senil.*, ix. 1. Petrarch fears that the Pope may again leave Rome.

[4] The Vatican was in ruins; the garden destroyed. See Theiner, ii. n. 408, where Urban orders it to be restored.

been devoured by fire in 1360. Almost all the basilicas and convents were deserted and were scarcely frequented by priests. Swamps and rubbish took the place of squares and streets, where shattered towers, burnt houses, and ruins of every kind furnished a terrible chronicle of all the wars from which the city had suffered in the fourteenth century. True, that many celebrated cities presented the same aspect at this period. Petrarch's description of the condition of Bologna after the peace with Bernabò, or of Paris on King John's return from his English captivity, reveals as gloomy a picture of decay as that afforded by Rome herself.[1] But Rome was the capital of the world, and the greatness of antiquity furnished a perpetual standard by which the misery of the present could be measured. When the Pope proceeded through the narrow and filthy streets, he was pained by the deathlike stillness and still more by the sight of a people whose aspect and manners bore witness to moral barbarism and abject poverty. The clergy, formerly so numerous, had vanished; the nobility, once so magnificent, had vanished likewise. The majority of the barons inhabited their castles on the Campagna. The Colonna dwelt in Palestrina, Genazzano, Paliano, and Olevano; the Anibaldi in Cave and Molara; the Conti in Valmontone; the Orsini in Marino; the Gaetani in Sermoneta and Fundi; the Savelli in Albano and Aricia.

[1] For description of Paris, see *Fam.*, xxii. Ep. 14; of Bologna, where Petrarch visited Albornoz in 1364, *Rer. Senil.*, x. Ep. 2. The cardinal, with a witty play of words, tells him: *Haec, amice, Bononia olim fuit; nunc autem Macerata est.* De Sade, iii. 647.

The long absence of the Curia was undoubtedly the foremost cause in producing the utter decay of Rome. We must, however, protest against the exaggerations of later historians. Rome had not at this time fallen so low as to have only 17,000 inhabitants, nor, however undermined by feuds, party passions and poverty, were the Romans reduced to such a state as to resemble a lawless horde. The city was still a republic, able to arm its own forces and to make war on other cities; and its authority was recognised on the frontiers of the Roman duchy. Its constitution under reformatores and banderesi had been preserved, had quelled the nobility, and had checked domestic wars. The insignificant power of the Romans and the futility of their political dealings excited, it is true, the irony of Florentine historians, but the popular government, which the city assumed and preserved through many years, affords proof that she still remained capable of political life.

The Romans had conferred the signory on Urban, who gave them the knight Blasius Fernandi de Belvisio as Senator.[1] When the Pope once more made his seat in Rome he changed the civic constitution. The sacrifice offered to the pontiff as the reward of his return was the liberty of the people. He abolished the office of the Seven and of the

[1] He ratified the Statute of the Merchants on October 5, 1367. The senators after him were: Bertrandus Raynardi (who ratified the Statute on May 3, 1368); Gentile de Varano (*item*, on October 18, 1368); Ludovico de Sabrano, Count of Ariano and Apice (*item*, on June 5, 1369, and until November 30. Theiner, ii. n. 458, 463); Bernardus Corradi de Monaldensibus (*item*, on January 14, 1370). He was appointed on December 20, 1369 (n. 455).

banderesi and placed three conservators of the Civic Camera, that is to say, a civic council with judicial and administrative power, whose office endures to the present day. As the authority of the aristocracy had been broken, so the equally dangerous popular government was now also to be set aside, and a new and indifferent magistracy appointed. The wearied people agreed; the political impulse was dying out. The highest authority henceforward consisted of the senator and the conservators; but on all important occasions the thirteen captains of the regions and the consuls of the guilds were included.[1] Documents of the period show that, immediately after his arrival, Urban V. was the true ruler of the city, since he appointed all the chief officials and issued laws for the administration of justice, while at the same time he exerted himself to establish peace in the Campagna.[2]

Appointment of three conservators on the Capitol.

He spent the winter in Rome, where he undertook the restoration of the churches.[3] In March 1368 he

[1] On November 30, 1369, Urban handed over the senatorship to the *Conservatores Camerae Urbis* until the arrival of the new senator (Theiner, ii. n. 458). On April 18, 1370, the twenty-three *Caporioni* sign the Act of the translation of the heads of the Apostles from the Lateran, immediately after the senator. Vitale, p. 305. The Guild of Husbandmen had nominated the Pope Honorary Consul, and paid him a contribution in pepper and wax. Theiner, ii. n. 447.

[2] The family of the Prefect, Francesco, son of John of Vico, Prefect of the city, his uncle Lodovico, his brother Baptista, Johes Sciarra de Prefectis, Lucas de Sabello conclude a truce for two years with the Counts Peter and Franc. of Anguillara and other Orsini. Theiner, ii. n. 449, *dat. Montefias. X. Kal. Oct. a VI.* (September 22, 1368). See also n. 444, 480, 487.

[3] His biographer tells us that on March 1 he proceeded to the Lateran, and on his return to the Vatican took the direct road, with-

received a visit from Joanna, Queen of Naples. The King of Cyprus came also. In May, Urban went to Montefiascone, on account of the greater healthiness of the air. He there awaited the Emperor, who, according to promise, was about to set forth for Rome. On April 11, 1368, before leaving Germany, Charles IV. ratified at Vienna all the rights of the Church according to the tenor of Henry VII.'s diploma, in order that no injury might redound to her through the innovations that had arisen in consequence of the long absence of the Pope, and the revolutions of cities and tyrants in Italy. Thus, at the time of the most utter impotence of the empire, the Pope himself held it necessary to have the newly acquired State of the Church recognised by the highest secular authority. The arrival of the Emperor was now desired by Urban V. He hoped that Charles might place himself at the head of the great league that was to make war on Bernabò, now once more excommunicated. On the arrival of Charles in Italy at the beginning of May 1368, his forces were joined by the troops of this league, but the expected deeds of arms remained unperformed. The Emperor allowed himself to be bribed by the Visconti; after having wasted his time and achieved nothing, he proceeded by Modena and Bologna to Lucca, Pisa, and Siena, everywhere filling his purse.

out avoiding, as his predecessors had done, the street where Pope Joan had been seized with the pangs of labour. *Vita I. Urbani V.*, edit. Bosqueti, p. 381. The statue of a woman, which was popularly believed to be that of the *Papessa*, apparently still stood by the Colisseum.

He met the Pope at Viterbo on October 17. He remained here several days and then went to Rome. On October 21 he received Urban, who had followed with 2000 horse, at the church of S. Maria Maddalena on Monte Mario, and the Emperor and the Count of Savoy, humbly proceeding on foot and leading his mule by the rein, conducted the Pope to S. Peter's.[1]

The Emperor Charles IV. in Rome, Oct. 21, 1368.

The sight—unseen for a hundred and fifty years—of the Emperor and Pope in peaceful union making their entrance to Rome no longer moved mankind to enthusiasm; for what was an Emperor now?[2] Charles IV. served as deacon at mass in S. Peter's on November 1, where the Pope crowned Elizabeth, daughter of Bogislaw of Pomerania, the fourth wife of the Emperor. Charles bestowed the honour of knighthood on different gentlemen at the altar of S. Peter, the Empress did likewise at the Bridge of S. Angelo, when, wearing the crown, she proceeded through the city. A powerful prince and an excellent ruler in his kingdom of Bohemia, Charles IV. made himself contemptible in Italy. On his departure from Rome in January 1369, he was besieged by the populace in the palace at Siena and driven ignominiously away. He sold his revenge for 15,000 gold florins and went to Lucca. Like a leader of mercenaries, but without the repute of a Hawkwood,

[1] Corio, *Storia di Milano*, p. iii. 574, blames the Pope for coming to Rome with a military force (*con habito tirannico*). But how otherwise was a pope to come in that age?

[2] Read the letter of Coluccio Salutati to Boccaccio. De Sade, iii. 733.

he consented to be bought off by Florence for a few thousand florins, which, smiling at the simplicity of the Italians, he calmly pocketed. He deceived the Pope with the same tranquillity. As head of the league he prudently took no measures against the Visconti; on the contrary, these nobles forced him to a favourable peace on February 13. Charles IV. returned to Germany in July with a full purse, despised by the whole of Italy, the most unimperial of all the imperators who had ever gone to Rome, but nevertheless a sensible man. Low as the prestige of the imperial majesty had fallen, that of the Pope was necessarily but little higher, although for the moment the political decadence of the Italian powers redounded in its favour. The cities in the State of the Church received without opposition the magistrates whom Urban appointed. Perugia alone still remained defiant. This single city, irritated about Assisi and other places of which Albornoz had deprived her, with admirable courage raised her arms against the returned Pope. On June 13, 1369, the Emperor Charles IV. received from her the vicariate over several places. Urban, however, on August 8, published the suit against the Perugians, and on the same day went from Montefiascone to Viterbo; Hawkwood's band, which Perugia had taken into its pay, scoured the country to the very gates of this city.[1]

[1] For these circumstances, see P. Balan, *La Rebellione di Perugia nel* 1368 *e la sua sottomissione nel* 1370, from documents in the Vatican; in *Studi e Doc. di Stor. e Diritto*, Rome, 1880.

A triumph awaited the Pope in Rome when he returned to the Vatican on October 13. John V. Palaeologus, the Byzantine emperor, had arrived as a suppliant, urgently demanding aid against the Turks, who harassed him with increasing power. Forced by necessity he abjured his schismatic belief in the Palace of Santo Spirito and Urban forthwith received him on the steps of S. Peter's on October 21. On the same day on which a year before the Emperor of the West had escorted him to the cathedral of the Apostles, he entered the sacred basilica with the Emperor of the East and celebrated mass in his presence.[1] Thus in the course of a year Urban had seen the two emperors at his feet. These monarchs, however, once the rulers of the world, in the fourteenth century were but impotent phantoms; one, the successor of Charles the Great, only a tolerated guest in Rome; the other, the successor of Justinian, only a despairing suppliant at the feet of the West.

The Greek Emperor John Palaeologus in Rome, Oct. 21, 1369.

Urban's successes in Italy could not deceive a clear-sighted observer. The Church was no longer the political centre round which the country moved. A sudden storm might change everything and destroy the laborious work of Albornoz. Nevertheless, it was not this alone that forced Urban to return to France. Personal inclinations and disinclinations played a great part. His sojourn in Rome had become as intolerable as his progress in the Patrimony, where he had spent the summer in the

[1] *Vita*, ii. p. 410. S. Spirito had been purposely chosen, because the Greeks were obliged to acknowledge that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father and the Son.

fortress of Montefiascone or in melancholy Viterbo. True, he had no reproach to make against the Roman people, since no excesses had been committed during his stay; but this momentary quiet was due solely to the prudence of the people, who wished to detain the Pope, or to the military forces of French, Burgundians, English, and Germans whom he had brought with him.[1] His resolve was fixed, but as yet he concealed it. The solemn translation of the heads of the Apostles to the Lateran on April 15, 1370, was his farewell to the city. The relics were enclosed in silver busts which had been made by his orders. On April 17 he left, and on the 19th proceeded to Viterbo with a numerous military force, for the Prefect of the city was laying siege to Vetralla. Francesco, son of John of Vico, had risen in arms in sight of the Holy Father and formed a league with Perugia; the appearance of the Pope, to whom the Romans had lent 200 cavalry, obliged the Prefect to act with circumspection and he made submission at Montefiascone in May. This fact also disposed the Perugians to negotiations. Urban rejoiced, as the last obstacles to his return to his longed-for France were thus removed.[2]

Urban V. leaves Rome, April 17, 1370.

The conception of the duty of establishing the

[1] Quiet in Rome was only disturbed by the stake, at which the poor Spiritualists were burnt by order of the Inquisition. *Fratricellos vocatos nonnullos a fide catholica divertentes igne fecit concremari in Roma dum Romae fuit. Vita*, iv. p. 420.

[2] Perugia made submission through envoys, whom it sent to the Cardinal-vicar Anglico at Bologna. The cardinal absolved the city on November 13, 1370. Balan, *ut supra*, where the document is printed.

sacred chair in Rome was not strong enough in Urban's soul to allow him to become a martyr in a country to which he always remained a foreigner. His courtiers had never ceased to urge his return, and he was all the more determined in his resolve since the war between England and France had broken out afresh, and he hoped through his presence to quell it. He first announced his intention at Montefiascone. He was answered by the profound dismay of the Italians and the rejoicings of the French. The name of Avignon electrified the cardinals, who had sighed through their three years sojourn in Italy as a weary term of exile. But a saint appeared to the Pope and prophesied his inevitable death if he returned to Avignon.

At this time, and for years before, a visionary from the north dwelt amid the ruins of Rome. Steeped in the most profound religious enthusiasm, she remained undisturbed by the battle cries of a ferocious populace, who daily stained the streets with blood. This was Bridget, a Swede of princely race, the widow of a nobleman Ulf Gudmarson, to whom she had borne eight children. Christ had appeared to her in a convent in her native country, and she had heard His voice saying, "Go to Rome, where the streets are covered with gold and the blood of martyrs; there shalt thou remain until thou hast seen the Pope and the Emperor, to whom thou shalt make known my words."[1] She came to Rome for

S. Brigitta in Rome.

[1] *Vita S. Brigittae*, in the Bollandists, vol. iv. p. 520. *Vade Romam, ubi plateae stratae sunt auro et imbricatae sanctorum sanguine, ubi compendium et brevior via est ad coelum propter indulgentias—*

the first time in 1346, a year before the revolution of Cola di Rienzo; for the second time during the jubilee of 1350, and then remained until her death. Friends accompanied her, and two of her children, notably her pious daughter Catherine, followed her. She learnt the Latin tongue. She dwelt in a house in the present Piazza Farnese, where the room in which she lived is still shown in the church that was built in her honour. Sincerely pious as those Anglo-Saxon kings who had come to Rome in the eighth century, she exchanged the splendours of the past for the garb of humility. She wandered from church to church, from hospital to hospital. The noble woman was seen clad in a pilgrim's mantle, seated by the convent of S. Lorenzo in Paneperna, where she begged for the poor, and gratefully kissed the gifts which were placed in her hand. Amid the ruins of the city, she might have appeared to Petrarch as the mournful genius of widowed Rome, had she been other than a pale figure from the north and a saint. She was intoxicated with the spirit of revelation. The Saviour or the Virgin, or their images in the churches, spoke to her, and her astonished friends respectfully inscribed her visions in a book, as were they the prophecies of a sibyl. A voice revealed to her that Urban must die if he returned to Avignon; she made known the prophecy to Cardinal Roger

Stabis autem ibi donec Papam et Imperatorem videbis, quibus mea verba annunciabis. Hammerich, *Sta. Brigitta, die nordische Prophetin und Ordenstifterin*, transl. into German by A. Michelsen, Gotha, 1872. Bridget's father was Birger Person, Superior Judge of Upland.

Beaufort, but as he hesitated to inform the Pope she went herself to Montefiascone and forbade Urban to leave Italy under threat of certain death. But Urban remained deaf to the warnings of the northern prophetess.[1]

The consternation of the Romans was great. They had reaped many advantages from the three years' presence of their bishop; greater quiet and order, an influx of wealth, a revival of the importance of the city. The Pope now wished to leave the work that was scarcely begun, and who could tell for how long a time he would again make his dwelling at Avignon? On May 22, Roman envoys came to Montefiascone. They threw themselves at the feet of the Pope. "Welcome, my sons," said Urban, "the Holy Spirit has led me to Rome, and

[1] The Virgin said to her: *Si contigerit ipsum redire ad terras ubi fuit electus Papa, ipse habebit in brevi tempore unam percussionem sive unam alapam, quod dentes sui . . . stridebunt. Revelat.*, i. c. 138. Bridget was made aware of the presence of her oracle by a cloud which gathered round her and hearing a voice say, *mulier audi me!* She wrote down her revelations in Swedish, and then had them translated into Latin. *Revelationes S. Brigittae olim a. card. Turrecremata recognitae et approb. a Consalvo Duranto Epo Ferretrano notis illustr.*, Rom., 1628. One of her oracles (lib. vi. c. 74) prophesied that a pope who loved the Church would one day be restricted to the *Leonina*. *Vidi in Roma a Palatio Papae prope S. Petrum usque ad Castrum S. Angeli, et a Castro usque ad Domum S. Spiritus, et usque ad Eccl. S. Petri, quasi quod esset una planities, et ipsam planitiem circuibat firmissimus murus diversaque habitacula erant circa ipsum murum. Tunc audivi vocem dicentem: Papa ille, qui sponsam suam ea dilectione dileget, qua ego, et amici mei dileximus eam, possidebit hunc locum cum assessoribus suis, ut liberius et quietius advocare possit Consiliarios suos.* In 1866 the Italians made good this prophecy, and advised the Pope to accommodate himself to its terms.

now again leads me away for the honour of the Church."

Urban's farewell to the Romans.

On June 26, 1370, he wrote a letter of consolation to the Romans; he said that he believed his departure would sadden them, that they would fear his successors might never return to Rome. He was himself deeply grieved, but for their consolation and for the information of his successors he bequeathed them the assurance that he had spent three years in Rome in the greatest tranquillity, and had only experienced reverent love from the people; that the responsibility of his departure did not lie with Rome, but with outward circumstances. As long as their devotion for the sacred chair lasted, he would always remain with them in spirit; even when distant he would look after them with a father's care. They must bear his departure like strong and reasonable men, and must remain in peaceful concord, in order that no worse conditions in the city might prevent his own return or that of his successors.[1]

Urban's testimony to the good conduct of his children, the Romans, who had treated him with respect for three years, is one of the most curious documents in the history of the Papacy. It reveals the darkness of long centuries of hardship and distress which the popes had endured in Rome.

[1] *Urbanus . . . dil. filiis populo Romano—dat. apud. Montefiasc. VI. Kal. Julii a VIII.* (Raynald., n. xix., *ad A.* 1370.) *Ad consolationem vestram—attestamur, quod nos et fratres sive S. R. E. Cardinales nostrique familiares et officiales—vobiscum per triennium et in locis circumvicinis in magna quiete et consolatione permansimus; vosque communiter et divisim nos et dictam curiam reverenter et favorabiliter tractavistis.*

What did the Romans say when their Senator Bertrand de Monaldensibus announced in parliament the farewell of the departing Pope? Urban's personal qualities had won him many genuine friends in Italy. He hated the secular pomp and the corruptions in the Church and Curia; he tolerated neither nepotism nor simony. He was a man of blameless morality, serious and humble. Italy would gladly have detained him.

Urban left Jacopo, Bishop of Arezzo, as his vicar in spiritual affairs, and conferred the secular government on the conservators until the entrance on office of the new senator. Under penalty of the severest ecclesiastical punishments, he had already forbidden any modification of the new constitution, or the revival of the abolished rule of the banderesi.[1]

Vessels belonging to Pisa, Naples, the Kings of France and Aragon, assembled at Corneto. Bishops and lords of the ecclesiastical State, envoys of republics, armed bands of warriors accompanied the Pope to the same harbour where he had landed three years before. The scene was now the reverse of the former, and the moment no less impressive, when,

[1] *Beraldo de Monaldensib. Domicello Urbevetano Senatori, et Pop. Romano—mandamus, quatenus statutum penas graves continens celeriter faciatis, quod nullus—resumptionem status olim Banderensium audeat in consilio ponere—aut praesentem statum—urbis per nos—ordinatum tollere. Dat. Viterbii XII. Kal. Maji A. VIII.* (April 20, 1370), Theiner, ii. n. 472. The Conservators ruled from July onwards, after Berald had retired from office. On October 3, 1370, they ratify the Statute of the Merchants: *Nuccius Ibelli; Rentius Nardi Venetini; Jacob. Mei Sutoris.* A *Nardo de Venetini* (he died 1340) is buried in *S. Francesca Romana*, where his epitaph may still be read.

Urban V. embarks at Corneto, Sept. 5, 1370.

on September 5, 1370, Urban V., sad, suffering, and deeply moved, bestowed his blessing from the deck of the galley on the countless multitude that covered the shore at Corneto. The sails vanished from the horizon, the Papacy from the sight of the beautiful but ill-fated land to which it belonged, and which the cardinals quitted as gladly as a Babylonian desert.[1] Urban's sojourn had consequently been nothing more than the visit of a guest.

We shall not follow the Pope across the sea, but merely bestow a glance on him a few months later, when, returned to Avignon, he is seized with a fatal illness. He lies in the palace of his brother the Cardinal Angelic Grimoard, who has remained behind as legate in Bologna. He is stretched on a miserable couch, is clothed in a Benedictine habit, a crucifix is in his hand. Through the doors, which by his command are left open, people stream in, the high born and the humble, courtiers and the poor. He wishes the world to see how vain is its most exalted grandeur. He dies. The prophetess Bridget had predicted the truth.

His death in Avignon, Dec. 19, 1370.

When the noble Urban passed away on December 19, 1370, the world beheld the avenging hand of heaven in his death. Could a pope return to pray in the little church on the rock of the cathedral at Avignon after having prayed at the altar of S. Peter in Rome? Must not the shade of the Apostle be

[1] *Secessit hinc pastor, istuc tantae curiae et vix relinquens vestigia properavit, execrantibus cunctis Italicum solum, et quasi syrtes vel Babyloniae deserta profugiens.* Letter of Colutius Salutatus to Francesco Bruni. Baluz., *Miscell.*, ed. Mansi, vol. iii. 109.

ever present to his perturbed spirit? "Pope Urban would ever have been numbered among the most honoured men, if, when dying, his litter had been carried before the altar of S. Peter, and if with tranquil conscience he had there fallen asleep in death, invoking God and the world as witnesses that if ever any pope forsook this place, the fault was not his, but that of the author of his disgraceful flight." Thus Petrarch wrote in Padua when he learnt the tidings of Urban's death.[1]

2. GREGORY XI., POPE, 1371—THE ROMANS RELUCTANTLY OFFER HIM THE DOMINION—THE CIVIC GOVERNMENT RECOVERS STRENGTH—PETRARCH'S LAST APOLOGIA FOR ITALY—DEATH OF BRIDGET, 1373—CATHERINE OF SIENA—NATIONAL RISING IN ITALY AGAINST THE FRENCH PAPACY AND FRENCH RECTORS—GENERAL INSURRECTION IN THE STATE OF THE CHURCH—FLORENCE EXHORTS THE ROMAN PEOPLE TO PLACE THEMSELVES AT THE HEAD OF THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF ITALY—DEMEANOUR OF THE ROMANS.

Gregory XI., Pope, 1371–1378.

Peter Roger, son of Count William of Beaufort and nephew of Clement VI., was elected at Avignon on December 30, 1370, and ascended the sacred chair on January 5, 1371, as Gregory XI. At the

[1] *Rer. Senil.*, xiii. Ep. 13. In the same place we find the praise of the Pope. The people believed him a saint: votive tablets and waxen representations of healed sores were hung over his grave at Marseilles.

age of seventeen his uncle had made him Cardinal-deacon of S. Maria Nuova; he was scarcely forty years old when he received the tiara—a noble-minded man, deeply learned and full of zeal for the Church, but irresolute and delicate.

The discontented Romans hesitated to confer the dominium of their city, which should only have been the reward of his return, on the seventh French pope. Urban's departure had restored them their freedom; they again governed the city under popular magistrates, although, in accordance with the agreement, the title of *banderesi* was avoided. But the papal garrison still remained in S. Angelo, which the people had wrested from the Orsini on the fall of the nobility, and had afterwards surrendered to Urban V.[1] Not until the end of 1371 did the Roman parliament confer the senatorial power for life on Gregory XI., as the noble Lord Roger de Beaufort. Like his predecessor, he preserved the rights of the Church, and commanded his vicar, Philip de Cabassoles, Cardinal-bishop of the Sabina, and a friend of Petrarch, to accept the signory under the required conditions. He did not receive the embassy which had been announced; he saved the Romans the costly journey; everything was settled by letter.[2] Gregory XI. immediately nominated John de

[1] On June 22, 1371, Gregory XI. commanded his nuncio, Gerald of Montmajeur, to arm S. Angelo. Theiner, ii. n. 507.

[2] Brief of December 19, 1371, Avignon, to the vicar, who had informed him that the Romans would send him envoys—*ad dandum nobis ut Petro de Belloforti et private persone ad vitam nram, non ut R. Pontefici, urbis Dominium, videl. Senatus, Capitaneatus et Sindicatus officia, quae ad se pertinere asserunt*, n. 531.

Malavoltis of Siena as Senator.[1] According to circumstances a single senator alternated with the conservators in the government of the city, and the Roman constitution remained essentially the same as it had been under the reformators in and after the time of Albornoz. For although Urban V. had removed these officials, their place was taken by the equally powerful conservators; that of the banderesi, however, by the executors of justice, while the four presidents of the guild of balestrieri sat beside them in the governing consilium as before.[2]

Urgent exhortations to return to Rome were despatched to Gregory XI. If the aged Petrarch held his peace, he nevertheless defended his country against the attacks which his own congratulations to Urban had provoked. After Urban's death a French

[1] He ratified the Statute of the Merchants on December 23, 1371. The historians of the Senate speak of Venanzio Moronti of S. Geminiano as senator before him; but I have not found Moronti in documents. Senators in 1372: Raymundus de Tolomeis of Siena, for the second time, ratifies the Statute on July 15. In 1373: Petrus de Marina of Recanati (January 18); Fortunatus Raynaldi of Todi (September 12). In 1374: Antonius de Sancto Fraymondo or Raimondo (April 1, July 26). In 1375: Franciscus, Count Campello of Spoleto (October 24). In 1376: Symeon Thomasii of Spoleto (ratifies the Statute on September 29).

[2] This is shown by two documents of May 31, 1373, concerning the peace between Nemi and Genzano, and the duty of vassalage which both places owed to the monastery *ad Aquas salvias*, executed in Rome *in palatio residentiae dominor. Execut. et Quatuor*, &c. (*Archivio d. Soc. Romana*, i. 69.) Also a document of November 13, 1373, signed by the Senator *et Conservatores Cam. Urbis, nec non Executores Justitie, et quatuor eor. Consiliarii fel. soc. Balist. et Pavesat. Urbis*—with the seals of these officials. Safe-conduct for S. Bridget's children, of whom we shall speak later.

monk had written a vindication of France against Petrarch. He took as his text the words (unflattering to Rome), "A man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell among thieves."[1] Rome is Jericho, changeable as the moon, and "fallen lower than I could have believed," said the monk "had I not seen her degradation with my own eyes." At the time of Gregory VII. the sight of the capital of the world, sacked by the Normans, had called forth a touching elegy of poetic beauty from a French bishop; three hundred years later the French national vanity was only moved to profound contempt for Rome.[2] The pamphleteer held the Italians as well as the Romans in scorn; their avarice, their torturing poverty, their degradation, he even reproached them with cowardice, since they had submitted to tyrants. He reminded them of what the greatest Father of the Church in France had formerly said of the Roman character.[3] When he maintained that Avignon had been a safe asylum for the popes, the assertion could not be contradicted; it was, moreover, supported by the argument of the Avignonese that "where the Pope was, there was Rome"; a cosmopolitan tenet, that was, however, only intended to

[1] This is the reply to the text taken by Petrarch *in exitu Israel de Aegypto.* The pamphlet is found in Petrarch's Opp., 1060–1068, as *Galli cujusdam Anonymi in Fr. Petrarcam invectiva.*

[2] The French monk made use of the epigram then current:—

Romae sceptra jacent et celsa palatia coeno.
Caesaris alta domus nunc fit casa vilis egeno,
Roma modo nihil est, nihil est Romae nisi signum,
Caesar in urbe sua nil cernit Caesare dignum.

[3] S. Bernard (vol. iv.).

apply to Avignon. Petrarch gave his country the last proof of his patriotism, which amounted to fanaticism. He answered this attack with an apologia. Therein he heaped the most unmeasured epithets on "the barbarous cloaca of the world," Avignon. In his zeal, as usual, he overleaped the times, and in France merely saw the rebellious and scarcely yet liberated slave of Rome, who would return to her ancient yoke if the Italians were united. For that Rome was still a power, it sufficed to show the spell that an insignificant Roman had exercised on the world a few years before and the terror that he had diffused in France. He defended Rome against the reproaches of S. Bernard; but his proofs were taken altogether from antiquity. He even tried to defend the Romans from the charge of avarice; for no great city had so few merchants and usurers as Rome. And in order to demonstrate the higher civilisation of Italy and the conspicuous superiority of its genius over that of France even in his own century, it would have been enough for Petrarch to quote the names of Dante, Giotto, Niccolò Pisano, Thomas Aquinas, also his own, and quietly to leave to the future the task of proving, by a singular wealth of genius of the first rank, that the intellect of Italy was more artistic and creative than that of France.[1] Petrarch died on July 18, 1374,

Petrarch and the city of Rome.

[1] Petrarch estimates the character of the French as: *leves, laetique homines, faciles ac jucundi convictus, qui libenter adsciscant gaudia, curas pellant ludendo, ridendo, canendo, edendo et bibendo,—barbarorum omnium mitiores—Ut ad bella suscipienda Gallor. alacer ac promptus est animus, sic mollis ac minime resistens ad calamitates perferendas mens eorum est.* This was written by Petrarch in March 1372:

only two years before the final return of the Papacy to Rome. His luminous, many-sided, pioneering intellect shone on a solitary height during the whole of the era of Avignon, to which he belonged, and in which he acted like a prophet of his nation during the Babylonian exile.

The exhortations which the Romans addressed to Gregory XI. were supported by Bridget, who still lived among them. While the Pope was yet a cardinal, Bridget had announced the revelations which had predicted Urban's death; she implored him as pope to return to the city, since the Virgin Mary had told her that he too must die if he refused.[1] Meanwhile she herself died on July 23, 1373. She received solemn burial in the convent of S. Lorenzo in Paneperna. But Catherine, her pious daughter, and her son Birger soon carried their dead mother to the convent of Wadstena in her native country. We still read the letters of safe-conduct which the Senator Fortunatus Raynaldi, the conservators, the executors of justice, and the four counsellors of the guild of balestrieri gave Bridget's children on November 13, 1373. All cities and authorities were therein summoned to allow them free passage with their horses and baggage, among which were an altar and sacred vessels.[2]

Contra cujusd. Anon. Galli Calumnias ad Ugutionem de Thienis Apologia, Opp., 1068–1085.

[1] *Revelat.*, vol. i. c. 139, 140.

[2] *Fortunatus Dni Raynaldi . . . notum facimus—quod egreg. et nob. mil. D. Brigerius de Suesia, et nob. Dn̄a D. Catherina soror. ej. germana ap. quos lictere pres. existunt, una cum rever. et magne sanct. et abstinentie vite Dn̄a Brigida matre eor. de Regio stirpe*

In no direction does nature ever seem to tolerate isolated phenomena. As Francis and Dominic appeared contemporaneously, so likewise did Bridget and Catherine of Siena. The current of intellect and power in the Church of Innocent had produced two great founders of religious orders of far-reaching activity; from the weak or vicious period of Avignon issued only two visionary women, who shone as ideals of Christian virtue, but who also testified to the need of reform in the corrupt Church. The religious heroines of antiquity, Miriam, Deborah, Judith and Cassandra, would have seemed entirely strange types of human nature beside these incorporeal prophetesses of the fourteenth century, of whom one begged alms as a pilgrim, the other exchanged her heart for that of the Saviour. The renunciation of self, however, is a heroic action, which transcends every other in moral grandeur. Catherine was the daughter of a dyer called Benincasa in Siena, born in the year that Cola di Rienzo accomplished the revolution in Rome. She was endowed with a prophetic spirit, was thoughtful and poetic like S. Francis. Since child-

Catherine of Siena.

progeniti, ex inspir. spiritus s.—direxerunt vers. urbem—gressus suos, civitates eor.—deserentes, in anno vid. prox. preteriti Jubilei, et ab ipso anno citra in Roman. civ. manserunt—Bridget is called *que vere potest asseri prophetissa.* Her revelations are said to have been published with the sanction of the Pope. Her life, death, and burial are described, her miracles are mentioned. Her children were proceeding to organise the convent of *S. M. in Vatzena . . . Dat. in Capitolio et in domib. nre resid. sub. A.D.* 1373. *Pont. S. Gregorii PP. XI. mens. novbr. die XIII.* (Copy taken from the Archives of Stockholm, and presented to me by Andreas Munch.) Bridget was canonised in 1391. A church was erected in her honour near the Palazzo Farnese, which contains contemporary inscriptions.

hood she had lived as a nun attached to the Dominican order. She was a true saint of the people.[1] Petrarch, as the greatest sage of the time, as the friend of popes, kings, and republics, and as their frequent ambassador in affairs of state, had justly been regarded as the representative of Italy. Now that his voice was hushed the humble maiden of Siena undertook his mission. She protested against Avignon. She went as an angel of peace to and fro between Italy and the Pope. She exhorted Gregory XI. to reform the Church and to return to Rome. But neither the prophecies of the Swedish saint, nor the persuasive letters and speeches of the Tuscan priestess, would have moved the spirit of the Pope, had not weightier reasons of a political nature induced him to leave Avignon. One of the chief motives of Urban V.'s visit to Rome had been the tranquilliisation of Italy and the subjugation of the State of the Church; the falling away of the same State was the principal cause of Gregory's journey.

Italy rises against the Avignonese papacy.

Almost the whole of Italy had welcomed Urban as a Messiah on his arrival; on his departure almost the whole of Italy rose against the French papacy. Three great political systems were represented at this time in the country: the dynastic, the republican, that of the State of the Church. From the ancient Ghibelline party at Milan the Visconti had arisen as

[1] Catherine's letters were edited by Niccolò Tommaseo, in 4 volumes (Florence, 1860). Her life was written again in detail by Capecelatro of Naples, and has recently been dealt with by Carl Haase in a short pamphlet.

powerful territorial princes; the Guelf national spirit still survived in free cities, the centre of which was Florence; the Church had finally reconquered her temporal dominion, and Naples remained her vassal. The Church fought with the dynasties, of whom the Visconti openly aimed at monarchy; she also made war on the degenerate democracies, which had frequently been her saviour in earlier times. The Church had proved incapable of performing a great task; for Italy was neither delivered from mercenary bands, nor healed of her political confusion. The exertions of the Avignonese popes for the settlement of the entire country were solely directed towards two ends—to break the power of the house of Visconti and to preserve the State of the Church. Short-sighted and dazzled, they did violence to the Italian national spirit. Their legates were almost invariably Frenchmen. An Italian speaking cardinal was rarely seen. The State of the Church, which comprehended so large a part of Italy, was almost exclusively ruled by Provençals. The entrance of the French element into Italy has already been remarked since the foundation of the dynasty of Anjou; it reached its highest point under the popes at Avignon. The growing national feeling of the Italians was roused no less by the foreign rectors than by the foreign mercenaries. The work of Albornoz fell to pieces on his death because it contained no national principle. The freedom of the communes, which the wise cardinal had protected, was everywhere imprudently restricted. Albornoz had already erected fortresses in the most important

cities; they immediately became the seats of tyranny, in which foreign rulers, protected by troops, governed as despots, and drove the provinces, already drained by incessant war-contributions, to despair by their extortions, venality, and injustice of every kind.

Misgovernment of the pastors and regents of the State of the Church.

The entire class of foreign legates and rectors was included in the term "pastors of the Church." Criticism of their maladministration becomes criticism of the secular dominion of the Church. "It is now more than a thousand years," said the chronicler of Piacenza with incontrovertible truth, "that these territories and cities have been given to the priests, and ever since then the most violent wars have been waged on their account, and yet the priests neither now possess them in peace, nor will ever be able to possess them. It were in truth better before the eyes of God and the world that these pastors should entirely renounce the *dominium temporale;* for since Sylvester's time the consequences of the temporal power have been innumerable wars and the overthrow of peoples and cities. These wars have swallowed up more men than dwell in the whole of Italy now, and they will never cease as long as priests retain secular rights. How is it possible that there has never been any good pope to remedy such evils and that so many wars have been waged for these transient possessions?[1] Besides these temporal lordships the priests own numberless great benefices, by means of which they can live like princes, while their *dominium temporale*

[1] We may remember what Damiani said concerning the temporal wars of the popes (vol. iv.).

is only the source of disquietude and a burthen for soul and body, not only for themselves, but for all Christians and especially the Italians. Assuredly we cannot serve God and Mammon at the same time, cannot stand with one foot in heaven and the other on earth."[1]

The ancient question, which a "good pope," Paschalis II., had once desired to solve by the renunciation by the clergy of all the fiefs of the crown, now broke forth with fresh vigour at the end of the Avignon period. The battle against the *dominium temporale*, in whose tedious history Alberic, Crescentius, the German Henries, Arnold of Brescia, the Hohenstaufens, Otto IV., the Colonna, Dante, Lewis the Bavarian, Marsilius of Padua, the Minorites, Cola di Rienzo had formed a consecutive series, was revived by the Italians after 1370, not on the ground of political theories, but on that of national feeling, and of the intolerable misrule of the regents of the ecclesiastical State.[2]

The voice in these provinces found its loudest echo in the noble republic, which had become the protectress of Italian freedom and nationality. Florence, the head of the Guelfs, had been since ancient times the enemy of the emperors, the warmest friend of the popes.[3] Her sudden apostacy from her own tradi-

Florence once more rises against the Papacy,

[1] *Chron. Placent.*, Mur., xvi. 522; *Chron. of Rimini*, Mur., xv. 915; *S. Antonin. Chron.*, iii. 377.

[2] In a letter to Gregory XI., S. Catherine calls them *demoni incarnati* (vol. iii. 114). She exhorts him to extirpate this weed from the garden of the Church; *li mali pastori e rettori, che attossicano e imputridiscano questo giardino* (p. 159).

[3] We may read the speeches of the Florentine legates in Avignon

tions is consequently the heaviest condemnation of the Avignonese policy. The lofty national importance of the Florentine republic in general, and practical causes in particular, sufficiently explain the change.

Bernabò and Galeazzo, who, immediately after the death of Urban V., were at war with the league which he had formed against them, were also assailed by Gregory XI. with excommunications and armies as the worst enemies of the Church. The Lombard war, which swallowed incalculable sums, had become the life-work of the French popes; they thereby reduced the whole of Italy to confusion and yet could not bring it to an end. The truce concluded on June 6, 1374, for a year was utilised by the legates in subduing Tuscany and in quenching the fire of republican freedom. Gerard of Puy, Abbot of Montmajeur, an unscrupulous despot, dwelt in Perugia. The vigorous city, which had again fallen under the supremacy of the Church, sighed under the yoke of this legate, who erected fortresses, banished citizens, extorted money, and allowed the most terrible outrages to be committed.[1] He conceived the treacherous design of subjugating Arezzo and

in Bonincontr., *Annal.*, Mur., xxi. 25. They recall their battles with the Hohenstaufens, with Lewis the Bavarian, Castruccio.

[1] Graziani, *Chron. di Perugia*, *Archiv. Stor.*, xvi. p. i. 219. The building of the fortresses cost 2,400,000 florins. The abbot's nephew carried off a noble woman, who threw herself out of the window. To the complaints of the citizens the abbot replied: *vos Italici creditis*, *quod omnes Galli sint eunuchi*. The nephew carried off another woman and the worthy abbot condemned him to death, if he did not surrender her within fifty days.

Siena. Cardinal William Noellet was legate in Bologna. He also wove a scheme for depriving the Florentines of Prato. Against Tuscany he sent a new band of Hawkwood's mercenaries, who had served him in the war against the Visconti and to whom he had given the name of "the Holy Company." Florence discovered his design, complained to the Pope, refused to be satisfied with fair speeches, and prepared to defend her threatened liberty.

The republic bought this band of mercenaries with 130,000 gold florins, and summoned the cities and nobles of Italy to throw off the yoke of the priests, to deliver the nation from the power of the foreigner, and to form a league of liberty. A red banner, on which the word "Libertas" was inscribed in silver letters, was carried round, and soon the whole of Tuscany resounded with the magic cry: Liberty! Liberty! In the summer of 1375 Bernabò formed a league with Florence. Eighty cities, among them Pisa, Lucca, Siena and Arezzo, almost all the communes of Tuscany, even Queen Joanna of Naples joined this national league against the secular power of the Pope, or "the unrighteous pastors of the Church."[1] It was a national rising, the greatest Italy had seen since the first Lombard league. The depth of hatred cherished by the people against the clergy is shown by the character that the revolution assumed in Florence. The

and summons the Italians to strike for freedom, 1375.

[1] *Factoque vexillo, in quo solum magnis literis erat descripta LIBERTAS.*—I. *Vita Gregorii XI.*, in Baluz., Mur., iii. ii. 650; Bonincontr., *Annal.*, Mur., xxi. 23; *Chron. Placent.*, p. 520; *Chron. Sanese*, Mur., xv. 245.

buildings of the Inquisition were torn down, the clergy were deprived of their tribunal, the property of the Church was confiscated, the priesthood were persecuted with imprisonment and the gallows. A committee of eight men was appointed to sell the confiscated possessions of the clergy; the people ironically called them the "Eight Saints."

Rising of the cities in the State of the Church.

It only required a summons from Florence to set the State of the Church in flames. Here one city rose after another, expelled the papal rectors, and destroyed the fortresses. In November 1375 Città di Castello, Montefiascone, and Narni first rebelled. The Prefect Francesco of Vico, incited by the Florentines to liberate the Patrimony of S. Peter, advanced before Viterbo, was received by the people with rejoicings, and, with the aid of the Florentines, attacked the fortress built by Albornoz.[1] On December 7 Perugia resounded with the cry, "Popolo! Popolo! Death to the abbot and the pastors!" The guilty legate shut himself up in the fortress; it was taken with the aid of the Florentines, who had hastened thither. The abbot capitulated and departed.[2] The enthusiasm for freedom

[1] On November 26, 1375, the eight in Florence wrote, calling him *patrie ac totius patrim. liberator. Ite obviam tirannis, frangite durum ac importabile jugum—populosque Italie quor. juris est libere vivere, in jamprid. per injuriam erepta libertate reponite.* Archiv. Flor., Sig. Carteg., xv. fol. 26. The same day they congratulate the Viterbese for having shaken off the yoke of the priests (*Ibid.*). The Treasurer of the Church, Angelo Tavernini, a shameless usurer, was also expelled at this time (Bussi, *Storia di Viterbo*, p. 210).

[2] Graziani, p. 220. On December 7 the eight congratulate the Perugians and tell them they will send them succour. Archiv. Flor., *ibid.*, f. 28. On December 10 they announce the event to Siena:

spread like wild-fire to Spoleto, Assisi, Ascoli, Forli, Ravenna, the Marches, the Romagna, the Patrimony and Campania. The blood-red banner of revolt waved over almost all the fortresses of the State of the Church. Bologna seethed in ferment. Rome alone remained tranquil.

The Florentines exhort the Romans to rise in the cause of liberty.

On January 4, 1376, the Eight in Florence wrote to the Romans: "Illustrious sirs, dearest brothers. The just God has had mercy on humiliated Italy, which sighs under the yoke of an accursed servitude. He has awakened the spirit of the people, and raised up the oppressed against the shameful tyranny of the barbarians. Ausonia everywhere rises and cries for freedom, and wins it with the sword. You, the fathers and founders of public freedom, have, we believe, learnt with gladness of an event which so nearly concerns the majesty of the Roman people and its own principles. For this love of liberty formerly incited the Roman people to throw off the tyranny of the kings and decemvirs. To them alone was due the fact that the Romans acquired the dominion of the world. If, dear brothers, every one naturally thirsts for freedom, you in particular have inherited the right and duty zealously to strive for it. And how can you any longer suffer that noble Italy, which by right rules over all other nations, should become corrupt in hideous servitude? that these wretched barbarians, greedy for the spoil and the blood of the Latins, should cruelly devastate unhappy Latium? Up then, arise also, Romans,

seva tyrannis, quae per tusciam jugo barbaro et gallicis oppressionib. inundarat, cursus sui filum—continuit (fol. 30).

illustrious head not only of Italy, but of the whole world! Take the people under protection, drive the curse of tyranny beyond the frontiers of Italy, defend the liberty which is dear to us, and raise up all who have been kept down by want of courage or too hard a yoke. This is the true work of the Romans. Do not submit to these rapacious Frenchmen, who seize your Italy by force. Do not allow yourselves to be beguiled by the flatteries of the priests; they would persuade you to adhere to the dominion of the Church, they offer you the return of the Pope and the Curia to Italy, and represent that it would be followed by a happy condition of things for your city. All this, however, has only one aim, that with your help Italy would sink into bondage, and these Frenchmen be masters within it. Is there any other gain preferable to the freedom of Italy? Do the frivolous words of the barbarians deserve credit? What great hopes of a permanent sojourn of the Curia were not excited by Urban V.! And how suddenly he changed his intention, whether from his own fickleness, or weariness of Italy, or from a longing for his own France! Consider, moreover, that the Pope only came to Italy intending to establish his seat at Perugia, so that you would never have any advantage from his presence. They now offer you in despair that which they will never fulfil. Consider, dear brothers, their actions, not their words. Not your welfare, but the desire to rule summons them to Italy. Do not allow yourselves to be deceived by the nectar of their words; do not suffer your Italy, which your ancestors, with their

blood, made mistress of the world, to be subject to barbarians and foreigners. Exalt into a public decree the saying of the celebrated Cato, 'We will be free, because we live with free men.'"[1]

On February 1, 1376, the Eight again wrote: "If ever there was a time to wake the ancient vigour of the Italian blood, it has now come. What Italians, to say nothing of the Romans, in whom virtue and love of freedom are hereditary, can endure to see so many noble cities serve the barbarians, who are sent by the Papacy to fatten on our blood and property? Only believe, honourable Romans, that these people will be more inhuman than the Senones. These tyrants, who inundate Italy in the name of the Church, have neither fidelity, belief, nor love in common with the Italians. They envy our wealth, which they seize by force. Every thing beautiful that Italy possesses they covet, seize, and misuse. What will you do, therefore, illustrious men, you to whom, on account of your present majesty, and of the glory of the ancient Roman name, the freedom of Italy must be so dear? Will you suffer this power of the tyrants to become established, and barbarian peoples to possess your Latium? Where is the energy of the ancient Romans that made them worthy of the dominion of the world? Reflect that,

[1] Archiv. Flor., *ibid.*, fol. 40. *Quo circa insurgite et vos, o inclitum nedum Italie caput, sed totius orbis dominator populus, contra tantam tirannidem, fovete populos, expellite abominationem de Italie finibus —nolite pati per injuriam hos gallicos voratores vestre Italie tam crudeliter imminere.* In like manner to Orvieto, Forli, Cortona, Gubbio, Bologna, Macerata. Especially fine and vigorous is the appeal to Ancona, February 13, 1376. *Stabitis semper in tenebris servitutis?*

by the decree of heaven, and the assent of mankind, the glory of delivering Italy is assigned to you. What more glorious title of honour can be found in our days for the Roman people? Nor are great trouble or danger required to obtain it. We have made a beginning of effecting an alliance with the races and nobles of Italian blood against the foreigners for the benefit of all who long for blessed liberty. If it please you to join this league, or, to speak more appropriately, if you will accept us and others in this league, this tyranny will vanish without trouble or shedding of blood, and Italy, restored to her ancient freedom, will return to her mother." [1]

The Romans read the letter of the Florentines with satisfaction. Their own theories of the eternal majesty of the Roman people were therein recognised. And is there any one who, in this admirable letter, fails to perceive the theories of Dante's *De Monarchia*, the ideas of Cola di Rienzo, the spirit of Petrarch, even the oratorical style of the renascent Roman literature, for which Florence had now become the modern national school? The gifted author of the letter was Coluccio Salutato, an ardent admirer of Petrarch and Boccaccio, and chancellor of the Florentine republic from April 1375.[2] The

[1] Archiv. Flor., *ibid.*, fol. 67. *Dat. Florentie die I. m. Febr. XIV. Ind.* The Florentines say of themselves: *nos autem qui romanos nos fuisse, prout nris annotatur historiis, gloriamur, antique matris memores.* The letters of the Florentines in A. Gherardi: "La guerra dei Fiorentini con P. Greg. IX. detta la guerra degli Otto Santi," in the *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, ser. iii. vol. v. *seq.*

[2] Concerning Salutato, see Georg Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des Classischen Altertums*, 2nd edition, Berlin, 1880, vol. i.

force of events had produced a marvellous change; under Cola it was Rome that summoned Florence and the other cities to unite for the liberty and unity of Italy; the cry now came from the Florentines. Scarcely ever had the Church been menaced by a greater storm; the Papacy was in danger of losing its historic position in Italy; of being permanently banished to Avignon by the Italians themselves. The consequence would be the unification of Italy; the main obstacle to which, in the eyes of Cola di Rienzo and Macchiavelli, had been the Papacy. To the misfortune of Italy the great task of the national renascence, undertaken by Florence, was shattered by the same obstacles by which it had been shattered in Rome in the time of the Tribune of the people. As Florence had then held back in refusal, so did Rome now. The return of the Papacy, which must necessarily render impossible the unity and freedom of Italy, appeared a necessity to the Romans of the time, and Gregory XI. hastened solemnly to promise it. He thus prevented the apostacy of Rome. Had she joined the league the Pope could never have returned.

Neutral attitude of Rome.

The conquest of Viterbo by the Prefect made the Romans suspicious of Florence. They protested against the enterprise of Francesco of Vico and the league of the cities, and declared that they would do nothing more against the Church. The Florentines answered that they honoured the Church, but made war against her iniquitous rectors, and reproached the Romans with favouring the tyranny of the French in their common native country.[1] Mean-

[1] *Justior vobis videtur gallicor. in italos presidiatus, quam*

time the events in Rome also produced great excitement. A nationalist party desired to join the league. On February 9, 1376, the parliament appointed the Chancellor, John Cenci, as Captain-General of the people, and conferred upon him the supreme command in the Patrimony and the Sabina.[1] Cenci entered the Patrimony to put an end to the aggressions of the Prefect, and encamped in March near Montalto and Toscanella, suspicious of the Florentines, who repeatedly explained to him that they would not attack Roman territory, that they regarded Rome as head of Italy, but were resolved to

John Cenci Captain-General of the Roman people, Feb. 9, 1376.

gubernatio Latinor. The Prefect had taken a fortress from the Romans; the Florentines express their regret, but explain that the Prefect is their ally. The Romans had desired to learn all the secret articles of the league; their request was refused, whereupon they said that the Florentines preached freedom, but supported tyranny. Arch. Flor., *ibid.*, fol. 105, Letter to the Romans, March 8, 1376.

[1] In the deed of appointment, beside the three conservators, appear the two executors of justice, the four counsellors of the Guild of Archers, also three *Gubernatores pacis et libertatis Reip. Rom.* In the Act of November 10, 1377 (of which later), this board is called *tres antepositi super guerris Rom. populi;* and this Cenci was a member . . . *Johis Cinchii de Cancellariis dicti alias lo Bufalo unius ex trib. antepositis.* The Bubalo belonged to the Cancellarii; the Cancellarii received their name from their office, which was hereditary, as was that of the Malabranca. Joh. Cinthii was confirmed as Chancellor by Urban V. on December 13, 1368 (Marini, *Archiatri*, ii. 108). The Act of February 9, 1376, is in the *Margerita Cornetana* (Galletti's copy, *Mscr. Vat.*, 7931, p. 234). The *Gubernatores pacis* were at that time Nicol. de Porcariis, Leonard. Berardi, and Laurent. de Sanguineis. They figure in a Roman Act of February 18, 1376, in which Aspra recognises the supremacy of Rome (Archives of Aspra, Original); and on April 29, 1376. Marini, *Archiatri*, ii. 64.

defend against every attack Viterbo, the Prefect, and all other confederates of the league.[1]

3. BOLOGNA REVOLTS — BULL OF EXCOMMUNICATION AGAINST FLORENCE—HAWKWOOD SACKS FAENZA—THE FLORENTINE LEAGUE AGAINST THE POPE—GREGORY XI. RESOLVES TO RETURN TO ITALY, WHITHER THE CARDINAL OF GENEVA LEADS COMPANIES OF BRETONS—CATHERINE AS ENVOY OF THE FLORENTINES AT AVIGNON—GREGORY'S DEPARTURE FROM AVIGNON, 1376—THE FLORENTINES ENTREAT ROME NOT TO RECEIVE THE POPE—GREGORY XI. LANDS AT CORNETO—HE MAKES A TREATY WITH ROME — HE EMBARKS AND LANDS AT OSTIA—GREGORY'S ENTRY INTO ROME, JANUARY 17, 1377.

The events in Italy caused Gregory profound dismay. At the beginning of 1376 he had sent intermediaries of peace to Florence; he now looked with anxiety on Bologna, which he wished to preserve at any price.[2] But this spirited city rose on March 19 with the cry, "Death to the Church." The Florentines broke off negotiations and sent the confederate troops to the liberated city, which had expelled its cardinal-legate. On March 31 the Pope consequently pronounced against Florence, as the author of the entire revolution, the most terrible excom-

Bologna revolts, March 19, 1376.

[1] The Eight write to *Joh. de Cinthiis Capitaneo R.P.* on March 15, 1376. Archiv. Flor. as above.

[2] Ghirardacci, *Hist. di Bol.*, p. 340. The Pope treated Bologna with circumspection. On July 25, 1373, he had allowed the city to send him two legates yearly. This is the origin of the Oratores. Archiv. Bologna, Reg. g. L. 2, fol. 296.

The Pope pronounces Florence beyond the pale of the law.

munication that had ever issued from the mouth of a pope. He declared the property and person of every Florentine citizen beyond the pale of the law; he conceded liberty to the whole of Christendom to plunder and even make slaves of the Florentines wherever found. Florence was even at this time the fairest flower of the Italian nation. This noble people, from whom Giotto, Dante, and Petrarch had already sprung, and in whom reposed a dawning world of wondrous intellects—eternal ornaments to the human race—was degraded by the Pope to the level of a horde of negro slaves, and abandoned to the mercies of the rapacious world. Had the poet of the *Divina Commedia* lived at the time, he would have been in danger of becoming the servant of the first freebooter into whose hands he fell.[1] When Donato Barbadori, the envoy of the republic, heard of the iniquitous sentence in consistory at Avignon, he threw himself on his knees before a crucifix, and appealed to the justice of Jesus Christ, the universal judge.

The curse of Gregory XI. casts a brilliant splendour on the Florentines, and if these intelligent and

[1] Bull *In omnem fere terram, Avin. II. Kal. April. A. VI.* Rayn., A. 1376, n. i. . . . *bona priorum, confallonerior., vexilliferor. justitiae, officialium populi, et communis, et etiam quorumcunq. florentinorum, ubicumq. existentium, immobilia . . . confiscavimus, et personas ipsor. omnium et singulor. absq. tamen merte seu membri mutilatione, exponimus fidelib. ut capientium fiant servi. . . .* With reference to England, Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Frankfort, 1602, p. 190): *extunc vero Florentini devenerunt servi Regis tanquam nativi.*

[2] Scipione Ammirato, lib. xiii. 698.

courageous burghers failed to give Italy national independence, the attempt nevertheless made them worthy to accomplish this renascence by other means of culture. Actions and thoughts bear fruit in the course of time, and this history of Rome, which we follow through long centuries towards its end, makes clearer than any other the inexorable laws of causality in the moral world.

Even in the fourteenth century doubts must have arisen in every mind whether the Pope possessed the authority to crush the private and public existence of a people, but, since he sanctified rapacity, his curse found ready instruments. England and France laid hands on the Florentines and their property. Everything Florentine was banished from Avignon; so many fugitives came from different countries as might easily have founded a second Florence. Pisa and Genoa refused to banish the excommunicated, and their humanity was punished with the interdict.[1]

Some cities in the State of the Church still remained faithful to the Pope, and some rectors there conducted the war against the Florentine league. The Cardinal of Ostia, Count of the Romagna, had sent Hawkwood's band against Faenza, which had become disturbed. The mercenaries, to indemnify themselves for their arrears of pay, sacked the city, and killed or drove forth the inhabitants. Nameless outrages were committed.[2] On the news of the

[1] *Cosa che può fare orrore ai nostri giorni, e dovea farlo anche allora,* says the noble Muratori, *Annal. ad A.* 1376.

[2] Two English corporals were disputing the possession of a nun,

horrible carnage, Imola rose in April, and made Beltramo degli Alidosi signor, while Rudolf of Varano, formerly the right hand of Albornoz, deserted the Church and seized Camerino and Macerata. The Florentines appointed the celebrated commander as captain-general of the league against the Pope.

Gregory XI. now recognised that if he remained longer at Avignon the State of the Church and Italy would be lost to the popes, and he resolved to return to Rome, which might also renounce the Church if he delayed. He sent the warlike Cardinal Robert of Geneva in advance with 6000 cavalry and 4000 men on foot. These troops had formed part of the army that had fought under Henry of Trastamare in Castile; they had then returned to France and, owing to the peace with England in 1375, had remained idle. The fiercest bands of Bretons and Gascons, led by Jean de Malestroit and Sylvester Buda, were singled out with the fiercest of cardinals to cross Mont Cenis and invade Italy, to subdue first Florence and then Bologna. As this warrior horde, under the command of a prelate whom the saintly Bishop of Florence compared to Herod and Nero, forced their way into Bolognese territory in the beginning of July, they gave proof of the incon-

He sends the troops of the Cardinal of Geneva to Italy.

who was on her knees in prayer. Hawkwood interposed: "Half for each," he said, and with his dagger divided her bosom. *Cronaca Sanese*, Mur., xv. 221, in Ercole Ricotti, *Comp. di Ventura*, ii. 155. [The chronicler makes no mention of the epigram attributed by Ricotti to Hawkwood, who is said to have stabbed the woman because he preferred not to lose one or both of his men in a duel.—Transl.]

testable justice of all the reproaches that in the name of unhappy Italy Florence raised against the popes, their rectors and mercenaries.[1]

While Rudolf of Varano ably defended Bologna against the cardinal, the Florentines showed themselves ready to be reconciled with the Church. As early as April, they had accepted the mediation of the Romans; they also listened to the admonitions of the Emperor and of the Kings of France and Castile, but answered them with the courage and conviction of their right. They pointed to the massacre at Faenza, the work of a cardinal; they pointed to history, which reminded the world of the ancient Guelf loyalty of Florence to the Church; they laid bare the wounds of Italy to the eyes of Europe, and never had a country more justification for rising against its oppressors in a Sicilian Vesper.[2] The commercial power of the Florentines was at stake; their connections were scattered over every kingdom in the world, where the inventive children of the republic carried their wares, their products, their arts, their learning, and their civilised modes of life. In June 1376 they sent envoys to Avignon, among them S. Catherine. A pious maiden of the people, in-

[1] *Sozomeni Hist.*, Mur., xvi. 1096. On the question whether they relied on entering Florence, they answered: *si sol intrat, etiam nos intrabimus.* "Introduction to the History of the Italian Militia," by Canestrini, *Archiv. Stor.*, xv. p. xlv.; Scip. Ammirato, lib. xiii. 695.

[2] Archiv. Flor., Signori Cart., xvii. p. 24, to the Emperor, May 6, 1376. To the King of France, May 15. To Castile, June 29, 1376 (*Ibid.*). Important correspondence concerning the Florentine league in *Epistolae Lini Colucii Pieri Salutati*, ed. Rigacci, Flor., 1741.

vested by a powerful republic with the character of an envoy, presents a strange spectacle. The saint from Siena had already frequently exhorted Gregory XI. to return to Rome and reform the Church, and had openly explained to him that the apostacy of Italy was due solely to the priests, who were sunk in worldliness and vice, and to the impious pastors. She now spoke at the papal court with gloomy zeal in favour of peace, but the terms of the Florentines and those of the Pope remained irreconcilable.[1]

Gregory XI. resolves to return to Rome.

The exhortations of the inspired priestess may nevertheless have contributed to strengthen Gregory's resolution to depart. In 1375 he had issued a bull which commanded all bishops to remain in their sees. It is said that one day he asked a prelate, "Lord Bishop, why do you not go to your see?" to which the bishop answered, "And you, Holy Father, why do you not go to yours?" The reply made a deep impression on the Pope. His relations, his father, the Count of Beaufort, the French cardinals (who were twenty-one in number against five Italians), the King of France and the King's brother, the Duke of Anjou, in vain besought him to remain.[2]

[1] She advised the Pope to pay no heed to the French cardinals, but to decide quickly and piously to deceive them. *Andiamci tosto, babbo mio dolce, senza veruno timore. Se dio è con voi, veruno sarà contro voi. Lettere*, iii. 286.

[2] The Duke of Anjou, foreseeing the schism, if Gregory XI. died in Rome, said to him : *si vous mourez par delà, ce que il est bien apparent, si comme vos maîtres de physique me disent, les Romains, qui sont merveilleux et traîtres, seront maîtres, et seigneurs de tous les cardinaux, et feront pape de force à leur volonté.* Froissart, liv. ii. c. 20.

Avignon recognised that the Papacy was departing for ever, and with the Papacy the splendour of the city. The dismay was great. As Gregory mounted his horse on September 13, 1376, the animal refused to bear him, and its restiveness was held to be an omen. Six cardinals remained behind, as garrison of the now deserted papal fortress, which inevitably awaited an anti-pope. On September 22 Gregory arrived at Marseilles. On October 2 he embarked with the Curia; the fleet consisted of galleys from Naples, Spain, Provence, Genoa, Pisa, Ancona, and the knights of Rhodes, under the command of the celebrated prior of the brethren of S. John, Fernandez de Heredia, who had just been elected grandmaster of his order. The voyage to Genoa and thence onwards on October 18 was unfortunate; the sea was stormy, some vessels were wrecked, the Bishop of Luni was drowned; no good was foreboded.

Departure from Avignon, Sept. 13, 1376.

When the Florentines learnt that Gregory XI. had set forth, they wrote to the Romans. They warned them against deceptions; told them that they did not even yet believe the Pope would return to Rome. Should he, however, come, he would not appear as an angel of peace, but as a general to carry the war into Roman territory. They exhorted Rome even now to unite with them for the deliverance of Italy, in order that the Pope, if he came, might be forced to give peace to the country, or if he did not come, that the universal voice should call him to a free and tranquil Italy.[1] The Romans paid no heed to their

[1] *Expectabitisne semper messiam qui salvum faciat Israel? videtisne*

The Romans acquiesce in the return of the Pope.

invitation; a solemn embassy from the Capitol invited Gregory XI. to return, and offered him the signory of the city, which impatiently awaited him.

The Pope sailed along the Italian coast amid continuous storms. His train landed in the harbours and spent the nights in the towns along the shore. On November 6 they anchored off Pisa, on the 7th at Leghorn, where they remained nine days on account of the storm. They touched at Elba and Piombino, Orbetello on Cape Argentaro, and lay before Corneto on December 5.[1] On stepping ashore the Pope was received with rejoicings by an innumerable crowd, as Urban V. had been received nine years before, but no Albornoz now appeared with the keys of a hundred conquered cities; no envoys of republics offered homage; no princes with trains of soldiers showed themselves. With a faint heart Gregory set foot on the ecclesiastical State. He took up his abode in Corneto, meaning to stay some time, but above all to assure himself of his reception in Rome. And this he did by treaty with the republic. The Cardinals of Ostia, Portus, and the Sabina, who had received full powers, concluded a treaty with the city on December 21, as follows. As soon as the Pope landed at Ostia, Rome conferred the full

Gregory XI. lands at Corneto.

quanto paratu vos in spem sui adventus adduxerit, ut populum roman. sibi conciliet. et in bella precipitet? Dat. Flor. die XII. m. Octob. XV. Ind. 1376. Archiv. Flor., as above, fol. 86.

[1] See the Itinerary in the *Vitae* of the Pope and in the barbarous poem by the Bishop Petrus Amelius, which describes the entire journey: the verses are inspired by a woful and sea-sick muse. He wrote the first part in Corneto. He notices the *lucerna, qua Mons Argentarius splendet, velut sol multiplicatis faculis.*

dominium upon him, under the same conditions that had previously been offered to Urban V.; the city made over to the legate all bridges, gates, towers, and fortresses, the whole of Trastevere and the Leonina. The Pope promised to let the executors of justice and the four councillors of the balestrieri continue in office and retain administration of the civic revenues. But these magistrates must tender the oath of fidelity, and the Pope had the right of reforming the corporation. On landing at Ostia the guild were to meet him, accompany him to S. Peter's and then retire to their private dwellings, where they were to remain.[1] In vain the Florentines strove to dissuade Rome from this treaty with the Church. On December 26 they again wrote a fiery letter to the banderesi; in it they said that the Pope, whom they awaited with such longing, would bring them nothing but the ruin of liberty and the dissolution of their corporation. These bold republicans wrote that even if he restored the city to its ancient splendour, overlaid its walls with gold and gave Rome back the ancient majesty of the empire, not even then ought he to be received by the citizens

The Florentines entreat the Romans not to receive the Pope.

[1] *Acceptata—fuerunt dicta capitula—per Rom. Pon., et Presidentes et Regimina alme Urbis in privato et generali, ac societatis dicte Urbis consiliis sub A.D. MCCCLXXVI. Ind. XV. m. Dec. die XXI.* (Theiner, ii. n. 606.) The Society of Balestrieri was consequently in power at this time, and the two *Executores Justiciae*, the former Banderenses, were the heads of the republic. This is also shown by a letter of the Florentines of October 15, 1376, to the *Banderenses*, wherein they observe that their guild had been suppressed by Urban V.; complain that the Pope was coming with preparations for war, and invoke the Banderesi to induce him to make peace. Arch. Flor., *ut supra*, fol. 86.

were these advantages to be purchased with the loss of their freedom. They again implored the Romans to hold out for their rights as long as the oppressor was not within the walls of the city, and they offered the aid of their entire army.[1]

Gregory XI. celebrated a joyless Christmas at Corneto. He had sent back all the galleys except three or four from Provence, which he retained for his protection, since the Prefect of Civita Vecchia rendered the sea insecure.[2] On January 1 he sent cavalry against Viterbo: they were defeated by the Prefect of the city, who took 200 of them prisoners and sent the news of his victory to Florence.[3]

Departure from Corneto, Jan. 13, 1377.

After five anxious weeks Gregory finally left Corneto on January 13.[4] He sailed past Civita Vecchia, which recognised the signory of the Prefect, and landed at Ostia on January 14. The sight of this coast, which is so melancholy and deserted that Dante placed the entrance to the nether world of the Christians at the mouth of the Tiber, must have made a dismal impression on the Pope and his court.[5] Here it was that in former days their compatriots

[1] Letter to the Banderenses . . . *dat. XXV. Dec.* 1376. From the letters of Coluccio, pars. i. Ep. 17, p. 58, in Vitale, p. 327.

[2] *Sozomen. Hist.*, Mur., xvi. 1101. According to Sardo, *Cronaca Pisana* (*Arch. Stor.*, vi. pars. ii. 193), Gregory left Corneto in the great galley of Ancona, accompanied by four Neapolitan vessels.

[3] Cronichetta (*Raccolta di cronichette*, Firenze, 1733, p. 210): *e a Firenze mandò ulivo*—it was then the custom for messengers announcing peace or victory to carry an olive branch in the hand.

[4] *Evanuitis quinque Septimanis in oppido Corneti cum moestitia.* . . . Petrus Amelius, p. 704.

[5] Ostia: *Murale Praesidium mirabile est; civitas venerabilis nullius existentiae; ibi coenavimus.* Amelius.

the Provençals had effected their ominous landing under Charles of Anjou. A long chain of causes and effects linked the disembarkation of the first Angevin and the last Avignonese pope.

In the evening the Romans in great numbers appeared to greet him. In conformity with the treaty, they made over to Gregory the dominium of the city. There were rejoicings and dancing by torch-light to the music of instruments.[1] The following day the Pope embarked to sail up the Tiber to S. Paul's. It was night; crowds went to and fro with lights and torches; the Pope remained on board. Not until the morning of January 16 did he step ashore. The whole of Rome had come to S. Paul's. Horsemen in splendid array, carrying banners, pranced here and there amid the braying of trumpets. The solemn entry took place on January 17, 1377, for on the festival of the Cathedra of S. Peter the sacred chair was to be restored to the cathedral of the Apostles. The procession took its way through the venerable gate of S. Paul, through which a Pope had never before entered. The Gothic hero, Totila, however, had formerly forced his way through its portals to the city, and 110 years before Gregory's time Charles of Anjou made his entry by the same route.

Gregory XI.'s entry into Rome, Jan. 17, 1377.

Gregory XI. came with a force of scarcely 2000 men under the command of Raymond of Turenne;

[1] Amelius says that these dancers were old and decrepit: *chorizabant cum tubis et faculis calvi decrepti cum sonore.* I do not know which of the two is the more ridiculous, these verses or the bald-headed dancers.

but even this escort was too warlike to satisfy S. Catherine, who, like Petrarch, demanded that the Pope should come to Rome bearing only the crucifix and accompanied by the chanting of psalms.[1] A crowd of white-clad mountebanks, dancing and clapping their hands, preceded the Pope when he left S. Paul's. This curious spectacle might have afforded material to a satirist for caustic reflections on the return of the Avignonese to Rome. But in the fourteenth century the sight of a Pope, who, in the most solemn moment of his life—a moment imperishable in the history of the world—was preceded by dancing buffoons, scarcely created the effect that had been produced in his time by the Jewish king, grimacing and dancing before the Ark of the Covenant.[2] The magistrates of the city on horseback, the militia, and the archers escorted and surrounded Gregory's triumphal procession. He rode a richly caparisoned palfrey, under a baldacchino, which was upheld by the Senator and other nobles, while the banner of the Church was carried in advance by Juan Fernandez Heredia. The Count of Fundi of the house of Gaetani and several Orsini were seen in the procession.[3] The choir of the clergy received the

[1] The Pope had also let loose the bands of Gascons against Italy. The saint wrote to him : *La gente che avete soldata per venire di qua, sostentate, e fate si che non venga. . . . Non veniate con sforzo di gente, ma con la croce in mano, come agnello mansueto* (vol. iii. 279).

[2] *Egrediente S. Pont. S. Pauli palatium affuerunt mille histriones ; Progrediente Praesule ante chorizabant, induti omnes panno albo, manibus plaudentes.* Amelius. One thousand probably only signifies a great number. The streets were muddy : *luta sunt nimia.*

[3] *Chron. Estens.*, Mur., xv. 499. Amelius says, *Almae Urbis*

Pope at the gate of S. Paul; the keys of the city were given him. The procession wound through that memorable quarter of Rome which leads between the Tiber, Monte Testaccio, and the Aventine, through the Marmorata to the Capitol and S. Marco, whence Gregory XI. proceeded onward by the Via Papalis through the Field of Mars to S. Peter's.[1] These regions were as deserted in his time as in the present day. Monte Testaccio was surrounded by a piazza used for the public games. With the exception of a few mills and houses, the Marmorata was as forsaken as it now is, and was only marked by a few more ancient ruins, for instance by the Arch of Lentulus. On the deserted Aventine still rose the fortress of the Savelli, of which now nothing is left but the remains of the wall that surrounded it. The ponderous towers on the Capitol and near S. Marco still invested this part of Rome, which is now covered with splendid buildings, with a warlike aspect. The Romans had veiled the streets with motley draperies, and even the roofs were covered with rejoicing crowds, which threw flowers on the path of the Holy Father, who at length came to restore the Papacy to the city for ever, and for ever to deprive her of her freedom.[2]

It was afternoon before the procession reached S. Peter's, which sparkled with the radiance of 18,000

Consiliarii, Senator, Banderenses omnes cooperti sunt pannis sericis.

[1] *Per medium urbis proficiscendo*—this excludes Trastevere—*ambulantes mulieres, prae gaudio lamentabantur*, which is utterly ridiculous. Bald-headed dancers, buffoons, weeping women!

[2] *Hilariter colleridas spargebant, velut rosarum flores.* Amelius.

lamps. Exhausted, the Pope could at last cast himself in prayer before the Apostle's grave.[1] The great work was accomplished; the seventy years' exile was ended. As we now stand before the monument of Gregory XI. in the church of S. Francesca Romana on the Forum, we are reminded of this solemn moment by the sight of the reliefs which adorn the tomb. Gregory rides under a baldacchino; cardinals on handsomely bedecked horses, and noblemen in armour follow; from the gate of S. Paul, the walls of which are falling to ruin, stream the people. Rome herself advances in the form of Minerva. A saint, the Sienese maiden, walks at the right of the Pope, and seems to conduct him into Rome; the papal chair hovers in clouds over the Eternal City, and through the air an angel carries the insignia of the Papacy, the tiara and the keys of Peter.[2]

[1] *Hora completorii ad gradus S. Petri jejuni laete pervenimus. Tota praelibata die in processione et divina laude insudavimus.* (*Ibid.*)

[2] The monument was only erected by the Roman Senate in 1584. See my *Grabmäler der römischen Päpste*, p. 85.

CHAPTER III.

1. The Massacre at Cesena—Rome resists Papal Supremacy—Conspiracy of the Nobles—Gomez Albornoz, Senator—Gregory XI. in Anagni—Bologna returns to the Church—Negotiations with Florence—Peace between Rome and the Prefect—Congress at Sarzana—Pitiable position of Gregory XI.—His Death-bed—Deliberations respecting the approaching Conclave—The French and Italian Cardinals—Ideas of the Romans—Death of Gregory XI., 1378.

Gregory XI. entered the Vatican with the firm determination of restoring Rome. But was it possible to accomplish the work under conditions so unfavourable? The thought of Florence robbed him of sleep. This republic incessantly goaded Italy to save the liberty which she believed to be threatened by the Pope. She therein showed herself a prophetess; for her independence was to perish in after times at the hands of a pope who was her own citizen. The horrors committed by the mercenaries in the service of the Church afforded terrible corroboration of the complaints of the Florentines. On February 1, 1377, Cesena, which had hitherto remained faithful to the Church, and where the Cardinal of Geneva dwelt, rose in despair-

Massacre at Cesena.

ing resistance to the Bretons, who formed its garrison; 300 Bretons were slain, when the legate, furious with anger, summoned the English from Faenza and commanded them to punish the town. The order was mercilessly fulfilled. About 8000 inhabitants escaped to the neighbouring towns; the bodies of some 4000 murdered citizens covered the streets. A cry of indignation re-echoed throughout Italy against the Church, which had consecrated her return with massacres in Faenza and Cesena. The Florentines called on all the princes of Christendom to have pity on Italy.[1]

These events also had their effect in Rome. Gregory here found himself deceived in his expectations, for the city gave him by no means the full power, but wished to maintain her freedom under the rule of the banderesi, and was encouraged in her wish by the Florentines. The Romans desired that the influence of the Pope should be checked by the rebellion in the State of the Church, by Florence, and the city Prefect.[2] The nobles made use of the presence of the Curia in order to re-establish themselves in Rome. Luca Savelli and the Count of Fundi conspired with 400 of their associates against the popular government, but their plan—of which the Curia could scarcely have been ignorant—was

[1] To the princes, February 21, 1377. Archiv. Flor., Signori. Carteggio, xvii. p. 91. To Charles V., Lünig, iii. 564.

[2] *Nam licet in suo adventu Banderenses et* 12 *capita regionum . . . deposuerint, tamen illico eos reposuerunt . . . nec potuit . . . Papa sine scandalo in hoc eorum resistere voluntati. Vita*, i., *Gregorii XI.*, p. 438. We have already observed that the Banderesi had been in nowise abolished.

shattered. The Pope now appointed as senator Gomez Albornoz, nephew of the great Egidius, an experienced general, on whose energy he staked his hopes.[1] He himself went in May to Anagni, which recognised the signory of Honoratus Gaetani, Count of Fundi.[2] Here, in the native town of Boniface VIII., Gregory XI. could review the painful history through which the Papacy had passed between the fatal attempt of Nogaret and his own return from Avignon. He remained at Anagni until November 5, 1377, busily occupied with the war against his enemies, and with negotiations for peace.

Gomez Albornoz, Senator.

Fortune favoured him. One member after another deserted the league of the Florentines. Rudolf Varano, their captain-general, was enticed to the side of the Pope, and in July 1377 Bologna purchased the continuance of her autonomy by the recognition of the papal authority.[3] True that the

Bologna returns to the Church.

[1] He ratified the Statute of the *Arte della Lana* on March 10, and that of the Merchants on March 13, 1377 : *Nos Gometius de Albornotio majordomus major Regni Castelle, miles dei gra. Al Urbis Sen. ill. ipsiusq. Urbis et Rom. Pop. generalis ad guerras capitaneus nec non Ducatus Spoletani Rector pro S. R. E. generalis.* He was still Senator on October 18. Marini, *Archiatri*, i. 73 ; Vitale, p. 331.

[2] Peter Amelius has also described in verse the itinerary from Rome to Anagni. Passing Grotta Ferrata, the Pope went through the dense forest to Valmontone, where the Conti had a beautiful palace ; thence to Anagni : *antiqua et solemnis est haec civitas situata in alpibus Campaniae.* On September 21, 1358, the city of Anagni in a parliament had conferred the signory and the dominium in perpetuity on Count Honoratus and his brother Jacobellus : "R. Ambrosi de Magistris Lo Statuto di Anagni" (*Arch. della Soc. Rom.*, iii. 370). Not until 1399 did the city return to the popes.

[3] By the treaty of July 4, 1377, which the Pope ratified in Anagni on August 21. Theiner, ii. n. 619.

Florentines had not lost courage; they nevertheless sent envoys to the Pope. Their conditions were such as could not be accepted. They refused to restore the ecclesiastical property and to revoke the decrees against the Inquisition and the Papal forum. They demanded that all rebels against the Church should remain six years *in statu quo*, with full liberty to form alliances against anyone, and as indemnity they offered the Pope, in the name of the league, only the annual sum of 50,000 gold florins for six years. When Gregory XI. refused these conditions, Florence reproached him for having, with unchristian severity, refused to give peace to Italy.[1] On September 21, 1377, the courageous republic once more exhorted the Romans to join the league, promising them 3000 lances and the aid of Bernabò.[2] Under the government of Gomez Albornoz, however, the Romans had become reconciled to the Pope, and had entrusted him to conclude peace with the Prefect of the city. Francesco of Vico deserted the Florentine league and made terms with the Capitol. The deed was drawn up at Anagni on October 30, 1377; and on November 10, three days after the Pope's return to the city, was ratified by the general council of the Romans. The document clearly reveals the constitution of the republic at the time; the general council was summoned by the Senator at the time, Guido de Prohynis, a Provençal, with

The Prefect of the city concludes peace with Rome.

[1] Letter of the Pope to Florence, Anagni, July 15, 1377 (Archiv. Flor., Commune di Firenze con Roma, tom. xlvii. n. 24). Printed by Pastor, *Gesch. der Päpste*, i. 628.

[2] *Ep. Col. Salutati*, i. 141.

the consent of the three Conservators, the two Executors of Justice, the four Councillors of the Guild of Archers, and the three Captains of War. The Consuls of the Merchants and Husbandmen, the thirteen Captains of regions, further twenty-six Good Men and one hundred and four Councillors of the city, eight for each region, were united as General Council, and this committee of the people concluded the deed of peace.[1]

The costly war in the end was more severely felt by the Pope than by Florence. Both adversaries desired peace. It thus happened that through the intervention of the King of France, and even that of Bernabò, whom Gregory had succeeded in winning to his interests, a congress was held at Sarzana. But the negotiations there were soon shattered by the death of the Pope.

[1] *Cod. Regin. Vat.*, n. 378. Ex libro, iii., Privilegior. E. R., fol. 314. *Act. Romae in Reg. Campitelli, vid. in sala majori superiori Palatii Capitolii, ubi consilia gen. Urbis fieri consueverunt, sub A.D.* 1377. *Pont. D. Gregorii P. XI. Ind. I. m. Nov. die X.*, in which the Act from Anagni of October 30, 1377, is inserted . . . *De mandato m. viri D. Guidonis de Prohynis militis dei g. Al. Urbis Sen. ill. et capit. gen. decreto et auct. s. senatus, cum . . . consensu . . . et auctor. nob. viror. Joannis Thocii de Vlperinis, Nicolai de Porcariis, et Antonii Guerronis Conservatorum Al. Urbis, Romanelli Joannis Vegi de Reg. Columnae, et Antonii Maschio de R. Pinee executorum justitie.* The Prefect restores the *castra Trivingiani, Carcarii, Saxi, Fabricae* to the people, resigns the prefecture, and is reinvested with it. All the kinsfolk of the Prefect and of the Anguillara conclude the 100 years' peace. Guido de Prohynis (who is designated *Ultramontanus* in the account of the election of Jacopo de Seva) was elected after the return of the Pope on November 7. He ratifies the Statute of the Merchants on January 26, 1378. Baluze, i. notes p. 1228, concerning this Senator.

Death alone prevented Gregory XI. from following the example of his predecessors and escaping to Avignon. He always regarded his removal to Rome as a painful sacrifice. As he wrote to the Florentines, he had left his beautiful native country, a grateful and pious people, and much else that he valued ; he had closed his ears to the opposition and entreaties of kings, princes, and cardinals, and had come to Italy at danger, difficulty, and expense, with the firm resolve to repair all that the rectors of the Church had neglected, and he found himself bitterly deceived in every expectation.[1] The thought saddened his every hour. On his death-bed he is said to have repented of having listened to the prophecies of pious women, and come to Rome to plunge the Church into the abyss of a schism.[2] This schism he foresaw. For the first conclave to be held in Rome since the time of Benedict XI. must necessarily be held amid the bitter conflicts of the French and Italian parties, and amid the same conditions must also be decided the greatest question of the time — whether the Papacy should again become Roman and Italian, or remain French and foreign. We may imagine the affliction of the ailing Gregory, who saw a chasm, which he had no power to bridge over, yawning

Illness of Gregory XI.

[1] In the above cited letter to the Florentines, July 13, 1377.

[2] *Caverent ab hominib. sive viris sive mulierib. sub specie religionis loquentib. visiones sui capitis, quia per tales ipse seductus, dimisso suor. rationabili consilio, se traxerat et Eccl. ad discrimen schismatis eminentis.* This is said by John Gerson, *Tractat. de examin. doctrinar. part.* 2. *consider.* 3. Mansi, note to Raynald, *ad A.* 1378, n. 3, doubts this ; Baluzius, i. notes p. 1224, does not.

before him. For never has a dying pope experienced, like a dying king, the joys or the sufferings excited by an already chosen successor. Sick to death, Gregory issued a bull on March 19, in which he commanded that on his departure the candidate elected by the majority of cardinals in, or out of, conclave, in Rome or elsewhere, should be recognised as pope, in defiance of the opposition of the minority.[1]

While Gregory lay hopelessly ill, cardinals as well as people were seized by deep dismay. The former already discussed the new election, the latter the means of averting the election of a Frenchman and procuring that of a Roman. Owing to the removal of the Papacy to Avignon, the Romans had lost even the last remains of influence over the papal election; the canon laws of the Church had deprived them of these remains, but they themselves ever strove to enforce them when opportunity offered. And opportunity now presented itself. The Sacred College numbered at this time twenty-three cardinals, of whom six had remained at Avignon, one was absent at the congress at Sarzana, and sixteen were in Rome. Of these, seven were Limousins, four were French, one was a Spaniard, and four were Italians; namely, Francesco Tibaldeschi of S. Sabina, called the Cardinal of S. Peter, a Roman like Jacopo Orsini of S. Gregorio; further Simon de Brossano of SS. Giovanni and Paolo, a Milanese; and Peter Corsini of S. Lorenzo in

Excitement in Rome. The cardinals' college at this period.

[1] Bull, *dat. Romae ap. S. Petrum XIV. Kal. April A. VIII.*, in Ciacconius, *ad Gregor. XI.*, p. 595.

Damaso, a Florentine.[1] The foreigners consequently formed the majority, but were themselves divided, jealousy severing the Frenchmen and Limousins. It was soon evident that no Ultramontane could hope for a majority.

All these matters were discussed while Gregory XI. lay at the point of death. But before he passed away, the Senator, the magistrates, the captains of the regions, several of the clergy and respected citizens came to the cardinals at S. Spirito, and represented the wishes of the Roman people. They explained that it was necessary for the welfare of Italy that a Roman, or at least an Italian, should be elected pope, who would make his dwelling in Rome, would restore the city and the State of the Church. The cardinals gave them fair words, exhorted them to take measures for the peace of the city in order to avert a popular rising. In fear the Ultramontanes brought their valuables to S. Angelo, which was commanded by a French castellan. The excitement was feverish. Scarcely ever had the death of a pope been awaited with the

The Romans demand an Italian pope.

[1] Tibaldeschi was arch-presbyter of S. Peter's, whence his surname. The Ultramontanes were: Jean de Cros, Bishop of Praeneste, called Cardinal of Limoges; Guillaume d'Aigrefeuille of S. Stefano; Guy de Malésec of S. Croce, called Cardinal of Poictiers; Pierre de Sortenac of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, called Cardinal of Viviers; Girard du Puy of S. Clemente, Abbot of Marmontier; Pierre de Verruche of S. Maria in Via Lata; Bertrand de Lagery of S. Cecilia, Bishop of Glandève; Robert of Geneva of the Twelve Apostles; Hugues de Montrelaix of the IV Coronati, called Cardinal of Bretagne; Pierre Flandrin of S. Eustachio; Guillaume Noellet of S. Angelo, from Angoulême; Pedro de Lima of S. M. in Cosmedin, from Aragon.

like suspense. All were aware that the moment of Gregory's departure marked a crisis in the history of the world.

He died on March 27, 1378. The pontificate of the last and most unfortunate of the Avignonese popes was brief and sad. Nothing but struggles against the storm, his moral and physical sufferings were alike severe. Grief and infirmity had rendered Gregory XI. an old man at the age of forty-seven. The dead was borne to S. Peter's, where the first obsequies were solemnised; the following day he was carried to S. Maria Nuova on the Forum, of which he had been cardinal and where he had wished to rest. Rome remained everlastingly grateful to him for having brought the sacred chair back to the city. After two hundred years a later generation erected a sumptuous monument in the church where he sleeps, and this monument immortalises his one glorious action.

Death of Gregory XI., March 27, 1378.

2. The Romans demand a Roman or Italian as Pope—The Conclave—Election of the Archbishop of Bari—The Mock-Pope—Flight of the Cardinals—Urban VI. recognised as Pope—Insult offered to the Cardinals by Urban—Beginning of the Schism—Joanna of Naples and Otto of Brunswick—The Ultramontanes go to Anagni—Honoratus of Fundi—Urban VI. in Tivoli—Battle at the Ponte Salaro—Manifesto of the French Cardinals against Urban—Mediation of the three Italian Cardinals—Encyclical of the Ultramontanes—They elect Clement VII.—Urban VI. abandoned in Rome—S. Catherine—New Cardinals elected in Rome—Bull of Excommunication.

On Gregory's death the cardinals sent to the heads of the republic, who swore to protect and give freedom to the conclave. The people were in a ferment. Exciting rumours were afloat. It was said that the Archbishop of Arles, Chamberlain of the Church, had caused S. Angelo to be occupied by soldiers, and with the Cardinal of S. Eustachio had summoned the Breton mercenaries. The magistrates, therefore, brought troops from Velletri and Tivoli to the city. All the bridges and gates were occupied to prevent the flight of the cardinals and to impose a check on the influence of the provincial barons. The leading nobles were banished from Rome.[1] While the car-

[1] *Vita*, i., of Gregory XI., and declaration of the cardinal in Baluz., ii. 823. The account in Martene and Durand, *Vet. Script. Coll.*, vii. 426, speaks of 6000 *rustici*, who had been brought into the city.

dinals celebrated the nine days' obsequies in S. Maria Nuova, repeated civic deputations placed before them the dangerous position of Rome and urgently implored them to take account of the wishes of the people. These deputations drew a forcible picture of the sufferings of both Rome and Italy during the period of Avignon, of the decay of the city, of the ruin of the benefices and the patrimonies of the Church, of the confusion and exhaustion of the cities and districts owing to the misgovernment of the French rectors as also of the tyrants, of the endless wars, the incalculable sums they had consumed, of the abuses in the administration of the Church in consequence of the nepotism of the foreign popes and their unblushing avarice. They demanded a Roman or Italian as pope, since only an Italian could save Italy, Rome, and the Church. Their analysis, indisputable as the charges of the Florentines, possesses all the value of a historical document of the period.[1]

The conclave was to take place in the Vatican. And since the duty of protecting it devolved on the civic magistracy, some captains of regions and citizens were appointed as its guardians, to whom were added the Bishop of Marseilles as custos and the Bishops of Tivoli and Todi. These authorities swore to fulfil their duty. The Borgo was barricaded; militia surrounded the Vatican, while the cardinals had the treasures of the Church conveyed to S. Angelo. A

[1] See the important account of the election of Urban VI. in Raynald., n. 73, and that of the Anonymus under the name of Theodorich of Niem: *Chronic.*, in Eccard, i. 1516.

block and an axe in S. Peter's stood as warnings against any disturbance of the peace—and these terrible preparations were for the election of the High Priest of Christianity![1]

Beginning of the conclave.

On the evening of April 7, amid the sound of trumpets, the cardinals entered the hall of conclave, where, according to custom, a separate compartment had been erected for each by means of curtains. A storm had arisen. Both hall and partitions had shortly before been struck by lightning. Disaster was prophesied. The people reverently saluted the procession, but shouted: "*Romano o Italiano lo volemo!*" The cardinals might have said that they were obliged to conduct the election amid the clash of arms and besieged by the excited populace. The conclave was tumultuous; but fear and jealousy curtailed it, and produced an agreement, which under the given conditions would have been impossible in any other place but Rome. The Frenchmen, headed by Robert of Geneva, protested against the choice of a Limousin. They said that in Urban V. and Gregory XI. the Church had already had enough Limousins. Nor would they consent to the election of a Roman, for the weak Tibaldeschi was too old, the ambitious Orsini too young, and, besides, the choice of a Roman would have awakened suspicions that the election had been dictated by fear. Of the two other Italians, one was a native of hostile

[1] *Posuerunt super unam columnam marmoream in medio S. Petri cippum et mannariam, seu bippennem acutissimam.* Account of the election written by Thomas de Acerno, Bishop of Luceria. Mur., iii. ii. 716.

Florence, the second of the city of the tyrant Bernabò. While the cardinals conferred, the captains of the regions entered the conclave and once more urgently demanded a Roman or Italian as pope. The Cardinal of Florence answered them with firmness.[1] In this difficulty some Limousins proposed the Neapolitan Bartolomeo de Prignano, Archbishop of Bari and Vice-chancellor of the Church, a man esteemed as blameless, learned, and circumspect, and who as representative of the house of Anjou appeared to reconcile both nationalities. The first ballot showed a majority in his favour. It was past midnight. The uproar outside was audible; the cardinals remained sleepless. From below, the people thrust lances through the floor of the hall; they piled up combustibles.[2] On the morning of April 8 the populace became impatient; the bells sounded an attack. Terrified, the cardinals hastened to a decisive election and again all votes, with the exception of that of Orsini, centred on the Archbishop of Bari. This young cardinal, who aimed at the tiara, strove in every way to prevent the election and had already given the dangerous advice that a provisional pope should be put forward in order to gain a respite, and that the conclave should be removed elsewhere.

The conclave disturbed by the populace.

[1] According to Froissart, who in the main is full of mistakes, the Romans had said: *Avisez-vous, seigneurs cardinaux, et nous baillez un pape romain, qui nous demeure, ou autrement nous vous ferons les têtes plus rouges, que vos chapeaux ne sont.* Liv. ii. c. 21.

[2] *Solarium dicti conclavi ictibus—tota nocte commoventes—clamantes Romano lo volemo o Italiano.—Et ita continuaverunt — usque in crastinum, adeo quod vix aliquis de Dominis de tota nocte dormivit.* Declaration of the French cardinals. Baluz., ii. 826.

Election of the Archbishop of Bari.

The announcement of the election was delayed until the afternoon ; the cardinals sent for the candidate under the pretext of ecclesiastical business. Exhausted, they sat down to a meal. Meanwhile the false report that Cardinal Tibaldeschi had been elected became current. His dwelling was immediately sacked, and the cry, "We have a Roman," resounded at the Vatican. The doors of the conclave were burst open; the populace thronged into the hall to do homage to their fellow citizen. The trembling cardinals withdrew to an adjacent chapel, but even this was broken open. In mortal terror, and in order to save themselves, they put a Roman as mock-pope before the tumultuous crowd. The aged Tibaldeschi was hurriedly invested with mitre and mantle, and found himself seated on the papal chair, while the triumphant Romans prostrated themselves before him, kissed his hands and feet and threatened to stifle him with their acts of homage. The cardinals meanwhile left the building.[1] The trembling mock-pope sat upon the throne, the actual pope-elect quaked in concealment in a room of the palace. The gouty old man at length freed himself from his painful position ; shame and despair forced him publicly to acknowledge that not he, but the Archbishop of Bari was Pope.[2] When the gross

Cardinal Tibaldeschi, mock-pope.

[1] *Quilibet ex Dominis prout melius potuit exivit palatium—sine capis et capellis . . . recesserunt.* As above, p. 830.

[2] The magistrates actually despatched couriers to announce the elevation of Tibaldeschi. The information thus reached Pisa on the morning of April 13 ; but in the evening a courier of the Merchants arrived with the news of Prignano's election. Sardo, *Cron. Pisana*, *Archiv. Stor.*, vi. pars. ii. 197.

deception was made known, the people cried, "We have no Roman. Death to the traitors!" The alarm bell was sounded; all rushed to arms. Some cardinals were forcibly brought back to the conclave; they explained with determination that Prignano was elected Pope. The tumult, which was indescribable, made flight possible for all. Six shut themselves up in S. Angelo, four escaped from the city, the others returned unmolested to their dwellings. Tibaldeschi alone remained with the concealed archbishop in the Vatican.[1]

The conclave dispersed.

The deception, however, was not succeeded by the consequences that had been feared, for the magistrates fulfilled their duty. The following day (April 9) the Cardinal of Florence showed the civic authorities the canonical election of the Archbishop of Bari, and the Romans comforted themselves with the thought that he was an Italian. The heads of the republic hastened to the Vatican to do homage to him, but he declined to receive it, observing that he was not yet entirely certain of his canonical election. But the cardinals in Rome gave their attestations in person, those in S. Angelo in writing; the latter even returned to S. Peter's, where they voluntarily and unanimously ratified the act of election and enthroned the archbishop. The new Pope then celebrated the Easter festival in the cathedral of the Apostle with all the cardinals, those who had fled to the Campagna having returned. On

The election of the Archbishop of Bari is recognised.

[1] The Cardinal of Geneva fled to Zagarolo; the Cardinals of Agrifolio and S. Eustachio to Vicovaro; the Cardinal of S. Angelo to Ardea. Rayn., *ad A.* 1378, n. 87; *ad A.* 1379, n. 51.

Easter Sunday he was crowned with all due form, and afterwards took possession of the Lateran.

Urban VI., Pope, 1378–1389.

Bartolomeo Prignano ascended the sacred chair as Urban VI. on April 18, 1378, and the united cardinals, his electors, announced by circulars to the world that he had been canonically elected and installed.[1] But his election proved a great misfortune. For the passionate Neapolitan was invested by nature with all the qualities necessary to render him the demon of dissension. His sudden elevation filled him with arrogant bewilderment, and appears, in fact, to have turned his brain. The Ultramontane cardinals, who had only elected him from fear, were soon at variance with him. Instead of gradually gaining them over by wise gentleness, he provoked them by harshness. Never was knowledge of the world more entirely lacking in a pope. In the first consistory he addressed a violent speech to the

[1] The last pope who had not been a cardinal. Of the letters, see n. 17 in Raynald (that signed by all the sixteen electors to the cardinals in Avignon: Rome, April 19, 1378; their election was made *libere et unanimiter*). Accounts of the election in Baluzius and Raynald, taken from the Vatican archives. Important is the report from Urban's side, sent to Castile, although it conceals the pressure exercised by the populace on the conclave (Rayn., n. 73). It forms the basis of the defence of Urban by John de Lignano (Rayn., n. 21). Report by Thomas of Acerno (Mur., iii. ii. 716); and of the Spanish Minorite Alfonsus (Rayn., 1379, n. 8).—The representations of Urban's opponents are given in the decrees of the Ultramontane cardinals and the report of their party in Baluzius, in the *Vita* of the anti-pope, and in Raynald. The Declaration of August 2 (Baluz., ii. n. 192) more especially bears the stamp of truth. Letter of the cardinals announcing the election of Clement VII. (n. 194). See in general Martin Souchon, *Die Papstwahlen von Bonif. VIII. bis Urban VI. und die Enstehung des Schismas* 1378, Brunswick, 1888.

bishops and cardinals; with them, he said, the reform of the Church must begin; they must not leave their seats in future, must accept no gifts from princes or cities, but must return to Christian simplicity. The reproaches were just, but the manner in which they were couched was offensive. These princes of the Church lived in worldly vices and scandalous luxury. Almost all of them owned a hundred horses; almost all drew the revenues of from ten to twelve bishoprics, abbeys, or great endowments. In almost all the priestly character was stifled. With the purple which they wore they thought themselves the equals of kings, and, as peers of the Pope, demanded reverence even from him. The consistory over, the lame Cardinal of Geneva approached Urban and said, "You have not treated the cardinals to-day with the respect that they received from your predecessors. I tell you in truth, that if you diminish our honour, we shall diminish yours."[1] The proud princes of the Church had expected that Urban, who had never been a cardinal, would remain their willing tool; they now saw him raised above them as an imperious pope. The parties of Limoges and of Robert of Geneva forthwith found themselves united in national hatred of the Italian.

Urban's violent allocution to the cardinals.

There were two other causes of dissension. Urban explained that the sacred chair must remain in Rome; he declined to take part with France against England, showed that he wished to remove the Papacy from French influence, and imprudently made known his praiseworthy intention of creating

[1] Raynald, A. 1379, n. 16; Gobelin, *Cosmodrom.*, vi. c. 74.

several new cardinals of different nations. The ferment seethed for several weeks in the Curia. The Provençal castellan refused to surrender S. Angelo to Urban before he had received the consent of the cardinals in Avignon, and remained in possession of the fortress. The Ultramontanes who contemplated defection now formed rebellious alliances; they could count on Charles V. of France, since the power of the French monarchy had received a severe shock on the return of the sacred chair to Rome. They also soon found a ready ear in Joanna of Naples. The Queen (whose third husband had been James of Aragon), was united in 1376 in a fourth marriage to Otto, Duke of Brunswick, to whom she wished to secure the crown. Pleased at the election of a Neapolitan to the Papacy, she sent Otto with a magnificent retinue to Rome, to do homage to Urban and to secure his support to her wishes. But Otto was treated with contempt. The Pope, who did not wish Naples to revert to the Germans on Joanna's death, favoured the claims of Charles of Durazzo, the last of the race of the first Angevin.

The Ultramontanes sever themselves from the Pope,

At the end of May, upon pretext of the unhealthiness of the climate, the Ultramontanes went to Anagni, where Gregory XI. had made preparations for the summer residence. Urban gave them permission and even promised to follow them. Honoratus of Fundi, the most powerful noble in Latium, at the same time a vassal of Naples, and from the time of Gregory XI. rector of Campania and the Maritima, was lord of this territory. He brought a charge of debt amounting to 12,000 florins against

and go to Anagni.

the Church, but Urban refused the demand and furthermore required him to resign his office of rector, an office for which the Pope had selected Thomas of Sanseverino, the personal enemy of the count. Honoratus consequently joined the opposition. He was also already in league with the house of Brunswick, having promised Jacobella, his only daughter, in marriage to Otto's brother, Duke Baldassare.[1] The Archbishop of Arles, chamberlain to Gregory XI., fled to Anagni with the jewels and the papal crown. Urban ordered the cardinals to take him prisoner, which they actually or ostensibly did. Filled with suspicion, he went himself to Tivoli with the Italians. The Ultramontanes sought to entice the Pope to Anagni; summoned to Tivoli, they hesitated to follow him.

Urban VI. in Tivoli.

Some weeks thus passed before they dropped their masks. They called the Bretons and Gascons to their aid, and these bands, formerly in the service of the Church, advanced ravaging the country to the neighbourhood of Rome. But national feeling here caused the people to abide by the Pope, who had made Thomas of Sanseverino Senator.[2] To prevent the advance of the mercenaries into Latium, the Romans boldly took the field against them on July

[1] Joanna caused the deed of betrothal to be drawn up at Naples on January 12, 1379. (It is published by Carinci, *Docum. scelti dall' Archiv. Gaetani*, Rome, 1846, p. 35.) Jacobella's mother was Catarina del Balzo. Baldassare was to receive Fundi, if Honoratus died without issue male.

[2] He ratified the Statute of the Merchants on June 16, 1378. According to Sardo, *Cron. Pisan.*, p. 199, he was made Senator in May, when the Banderesi had conferred the dominium on Urban.

Victory of the Breton mercenaries at the Ponte Salaro, July 16, 1378.

16, but suffered a severe defeat at the Ponte Salaro. Five hundred men, among them many illustrious nobles, fell in this battle. In revenge the people massacred as many Ultramontanes in the city as fell into their hands.[1] The Breton bands henceforward infested the Campagna for years. The Pope, who believed himself in danger at Tivoli, implored the Queen of Naples, who had not yet openly declared against him, for aid, and she sent him a few hundred lances.[2]

On July 20 the Ultramontanes avowed their intentions. They wrote to the four Italian cardinals, said that Prignano's election was invalid, because influenced by fear, and required them within five days to repair to Anagni that they might confer together.[3] Urban VI. thus found himself in the position of Boniface VIII. Cardinals, who had elected and awarded him recognition for months, pronounced his election null. Behind the apostate

[1] Thomas de Acerno, Mur., iii. ii. 726. The date is confirmed by an epitaph: *Hic jacet Angeloctus vir prud. et doctus, qui ob defens. Reip. ap. Pontem Salarium a Bretonib. fuit mortuus A.* 1378 *die XVI. m. Julii Ind. I.* (Torrigius, *le sacre Grotte*, p. 263, from *S. Nicola de Forbitoribus.*) *Cron. Sanese*, Mur., xv. 259. Niem, *De schismate*, i. 13 and 14, says: *Romanos occurrentes quasi pecudes mactarunt.* The Romans had then ill-treated the Ultramontanes in the city, *inter quos Alemanni mitius aliqualiter tractabantur.* According to Borgia, *Velletri*, &c., p. 323, the Bretons took up their position at Ninfa. The Abbé Christophe, *Hist. de la Papauté, pendant le XIVe. siècle*, is to blame, because he mistakes the *Ponte Salaro* for S. Angelo.

[2] According to Niem, *l. c.*, Otto of Brunswick himself came to Tivoli, to reconcile the Pope and the cardinals.

[3] Raynald, n. 40. See also their letter to Urban VI., Martene, *Vet. Mon. Collectio*, vii. 433.

Ultramontanes stood the same France that had formerly stood behind the rebellious Colonna. But these Ultramontanes constituted almost the whole of the sacred college, and were the ecclesiastical representatives of that monarchy whose ready slave the Papacy had been for seventy years. The present development was not a rebellion, but a national schism, founded in the past, which must inevitably sever the Church into two political divisions.

Urban VI. immediately recognised the full importance of the event; he declared himself willing to submit his election to the examination of a Council, he sent the three Italians with offers of a compromise to Anagni. They held a conference with envoys of the Ultramontanes at Palestrina; but instead of receiving any decisive answer, were invited to Anagni. They hesitated and remained at Genazzano.[1] As was to be expected, the Ultramontanes declined a Council. The act was fatal; for a Synod in Rome in 1378 might possibly have averted a schism that lasted forty years. The Ultramontanes relied on the protection of France, and were also sure of the adhesion of the cardinals who dwelt at Avignon.

The Ultramontanes repudiate Urban VI., Aug. 9, 1378.

On August 9, 1378, the Thirteen (they had been joined by Jean Lagrange, Cardinal of Amiens) issued an encyclical in which they declared that, threatened by the Roman people with death if they did not choose a Roman or Italian as pope, they had elected

[1] Report of the Cardinals of Portus and Milan and of Jacopo Orsini to the Pope: *script Zagaroli die VI. Aug.*, in Rayn., n. 42.

the Archbishop of Bari only on condition that he would not accept the election; that he had, however, accepted it from motives of ambition, and was to be regarded as an intruder; they, the majority of the sacred college, pronounced him such, refused him obedience, required him to renounce the tiara, and required Christendom to refuse to acknowledge him as Pope.[1]

The manifesto at once evoked a torrent of enquiries into the legality of the election of Urban VI. The most important question, however, was whether or not the cardinals had, as they alleged, elected Prignano under compulsion. From the Acts of the conclave, it appears undoubted that the Romans had exercised pressure, and that the cardinals had acted under the influence of mortal terror. But the election of an Italian was nevertheless due to the want of unanimity among the electors themselves; they had, moreover, ratified, crowned, and recognised the candidate; had announced his election as canonical to the entire world; had celebrated with him the most solemn rites without reluctance, and had asked and received favours at his hands. On his death-bed in August, Cardinal Tibaldeschi also testified that Urban had been voluntarily elected. The first jurists of the time, John de Lignano and Baldus of Perugia, immediately wrote vindications of Urban, and some

[1] *Vita Clementis VII. auct. de Herentals*, Baluze (Mur., iii. ii. 771, and Raynald, n. 48). The proclamation *dat. Anagniae A.* 1378, *die IX. Aug. I.*, with the addition that they had chosen this place as secure; it being under the protection of the Count of Fundi.

universities pronounced in his favour.[1] The arguments of the cardinals were too weak to justify their apostacy, but not weak enough to prevent the awakening of grave doubts. Finally, the historic conditions of necessity fostered the schism, of which the tumultuous election in Rome and Urban's insufferable conduct had only been the accidental causes. The Avignonese papacy had been too deeply rooted in France to be removed without leaving a trace, and the degenerate Church hastened its own decay. The rebellion of the cardinals, which, apart from the conditions of the time, must be regarded as the most wanton act of national egoism, is entirely explained by the events of the previous seventy years.

Soon after their proclamation, the schismatics had gone to Fundi, whither Count Honoratus had summoned them. They here invited the three Italians, to each of whom they held out hopes of becoming pope. These three already wavered. They hated Urban, who deserved hatred, and they doubted the legality of his election; Orsini, at least, had never wished to elect him. They came in order to be deceived. For on September 20 the schismatics in Fundi elected Robert of Geneva pope, and on

[1] Testimony of Tibaldeschi of August 22, Raynald, n. 41. On the other hand, that of the Cardinal Simon de Brossano of 1381, Dachery, *Spicil.*, i. 765. *Allegationes Baldi pro Urbano VI.*, and *Tract. Joannis de Lignano*, beginning of t. vii. of Raynald. The arguments against the Gallican cardinals are put forward in a letter addressed to them by Coluccio Salutato (E., pars. i. 18); also in several letters by S. Catherine. In 1382 the University of Paris pronounced in favour of Clement VII. Baluz., n. 220.

They put forward Clement VII. as Pope, Sept. 20, 1378.

October 31 he was consecrated as Clement VII.[1] The Italians had neither taken part in the election nor raised a protest against it; they did not, however, return to Urban, but assumed a neutral attitude, demanding a Council. They retired to the fortress of Jacopo Orsini at Tagliacozzo, where this cardinal died repentant and discouraged in August 1379.[2]

Terrible position of Urban VI. in Rome.

Meanwhile, Urban had returned to Rome, where, since S. Angelo was not in his power, he made his abode first in S. Maria Nuova on the Forum and then in S. Maria in Trastevere. His position was terrible, for the number and unanimity of the cardinals endowed the new election with a great importance. The anti-pope who was put forward against him was not the creature of a hostile emperor, but of a powerful section of the Church itself. Is not the defection of the Italian cardinals the strongest proof of Urban's repulsive character, a character incapable of attracting friends or reconciling enemies? He soon found himself alone. One after another the members of his Curia deserted him and hastened to Fundi. The virtues of fidelity and love, even the Church itself, which deserted him, seemed to be represented only by a saint. The Sienese maiden stood beside the Pope, whose guardian angel she wished to be, and the appalling figure of the Neapolitan only invested

[1] On September 21, 1378, he showed the commune of Osimo his election, which had taken place the day before: Ciavarini, *Collezione di Docum. delle città Marchigiane*, iv. (1878), p. 34.

[2] After the election of Clement VII., Catherine wrote one of her finest letters of admonition to the three cardinals. *Lettere*, iv. 150. The two Italian cardinals went over to the anti-pope after Orsini's death in 1380.

her with the greater radiance. With persuasive eloquence she exhorted him to fortitude, gentleness, and moderation, while her most ardent desires were for the reform of the Church and a crusade for the deliverance of Jerusalem. If the schism in the Church caused her the deepest sorrow, the coarse character of the Italian Pope, whom patriotism and justice compelled her to acknowledge, placed her in a position of painful inconsistency. The saint appealed to him to cultivate a spirit of perfect charity, without which his task could not succeed.

A German, Dietrich of Niem, the historian of the schism, saw Urban's tears of despair and acknowledged his too late repentance. In vain he now flattered the members of the Curia in order to retain them. He suffered that which scarcely any other pope has suffered; not a single cardinal remained by his side. As though he were himself newly elected anti-pope, he was obliged to create a new Curia. On one day he appointed, much too late, more than twenty cardinals, mainly Neapolitans and some Romans, two Orsini and Stephen and Agapitus of the house of Colonna, which for many years had remained unrepresented in the sacred college.[1] He brought actions against the schismatics; he excommunicated them, several bishops, the anti-pope, the Count of Fundi, the Prefect of Vico, the leaders of the Breton company, pronounced them all infamous

He appoints a new college of cardinals.

[1] The number of the new cardinals and the date of their election are uncertain. Mansi (note to Raynald, 1387, n. 102) decides that there were twenty-nine and that the date was September 8.

and outlawed, and threatened all such as recognised Robert of Geneva with the like punishments of the Church.[1]

3. The Schism — The two Popes — The Countries which adhere to them—Death of Charles IV., 1378—Wenceslaus, King of the Romans—The Empire recognises Urban VI.—S. Angelo holds out for Clement VII. — Alberigo of Barbiano victorious over the Bretons at Marino—Fall of S. Angelo—It is destroyed by the Romans — Urban VI. in the Vatican — Flight of Clement VII. to Avignon — Urban brings Joanna to trial—Puts forward Charles of Durazzo as Pretender to Naples — Lewis of Anjou, rival Pretender—Urban VI. Sovereign in Rome—Death of S. Catherine of Siena, 1380 —Worship of the Saint in Rome—Pronounced Patron Saint of the City by Pius IX. in 1866.

The voices of the saints cried woe, and prophets announced revelations that were supposed to have long been disclosed to them. The Church was divided under two popes. For owing to the prompt recognition of France, the pontificate of Clement VII. assumed the character of an anti-papacy. Illustrious bodies, such as the University of Paris, hundreds of bishops, powerful countries and peoples declared in his favour. But no one could pronounce

The great schism beginning in 1378.

[1] Bull *Nuper cum vinea, dat. Romae ap. S. M. in Trastyberim III. Kal. Dec. Pont. n. A. I.* Rayn., n. 103.

which of the popes was the true one.[1] If Urban VI. had a holy prophetess at his side, Clement VII. had a no less admired champion, for Vincenzo Ferreri, the Spanish Dominican, was his prophet. When the faithful compared the characters of the two popes, they must have found it difficult to decide which was the less good or less bad. The lame and squinting Cardinal of Geneva possessed at least more eloquence, better breeding and more ability than the rough Neapolitan Prignano. His election was also politically well calculated. He was not a Frenchman, yet in alliance with France, was powerful, rich, was the son of Count Amadeus of Geneva, and related to several princely houses.[2] He spoke French, German, Italian, and Latin. Formed by nature for a general, he had always displayed warlike inclinations. The blood of Cesena clung to his hand. His power, at first insignificant, was increasing. Breton mercenaries composed his army; the Count of Fundi supported him and wealthy France, Naples, and Savoy, later also Spain and Scotland acknowledged him as lawful pope. On the other hand, Urban VI. was supported by the Emperor and the whole of the remaining West. The Emperor had taken his side, and had he not died on November 29, 1378, would have offered him substantial aid. Charles IV. left the Roman kingship to his son

Death of Charles IV., Nov. 29, 1378.

[1] *Et ideo ab isto Urbano usque ad Martinum V. nescio quis fuerit Papa. Chron. Belgicum,* in Pistorius, iii. 350.

[2] He was son of Amadeus III., Count of Geneva, and brother of Amadeus IV. This ancient noble house ended in him. Maimbourg, *Hist. du grand Schisme,* i. 88.

Wenceslaus, King of the Romans.

Wenceslaus, for whom he had already purchased the succession from the elector princes in 1376 and had acquired ratification from Gregory XI. Urban VI. had also hastened to recognise the new King of the Romans. At the same time he had made peace with Bernabò, with Florence and Perugia, and had thereby removed the greatest source of danger, while the possession of Rome, where Clement held nothing beyond S. Angelo, gave him undeniable advantages over his rival.[1]

War for the possession of S. Angelo.

This fortress must be conquered first of all. Since Urban's coronation the Romans had besieged it, and after having cut it off from the bridge, had surrounded it with trenches. It was, however, well provided with victuals and ordnance. Its Provençal captain fired on the city, sparing nothing, and thus, for the first time in history, cannon thundered from Hadrian's mausoleum. The Borgo was reduced to ashes and was purposely destroyed.[2] John and Raynald Orsini, the brothers of Cardinal Jacopo, Jordan Orsini del Monte, Honoratus of Fundi, whom Clement VII. had immediately made rector of Campania and the Maritima, and the Prefect besieged

[1] The peace with Florence and Perugia was concluded at Tivoli in July. On the 26th, Urban accredited his nuncios to announce it to the signory: *dat. Tiburе IV. Kal. Aug. Pont. n. A. I.* (Archiv. Flor., Atti publici., t. xlvii. n. 27.) The Acts concerning the election and ratification of Wenceslaus, of the year 1376, are given in Theiner, ii. n. 596, 597, 603. Wenceslaus' promises of June 16, 1376, n. 605.

[2] *Capitaneus—de dicto Castro guerram movit cum sagittis et bombardis ad ipsam urbem vehementissime sagittando, multas cum eisdem bombardis seu pixidibus aeneis domos concussit.* Niem, *de Schismate*, i. c. 14; *Chron. Sanese*, Mur., xv. 260.

the city from various sides, cut off its supplies and caused a famine.[1] Rome saw herself threatened with all the horrors of war, as in the time of Gregory VII. or Alexander III.; but the schism was favourable to her freedom. For at the end of 1378 and the beginning of the following year the customary authorities ruled without a senator.

The separation of the powerful Jordan del Monte (who made peace with the Roman people) from the other Orsini exercised an influence on the war which the two popes waged on the Campagna; for they now furiously seized the sword.[2] Urban had taken a celebrated leader into his pay, Alberigo of Barbiano, Count of Cunio in the Romagna, founder of the Company of S. George, whence issued the most

Guerilla war between the two popes.

[1] In Latium, Veroli and Anagni adhered to Clement, Alatri and Ferentino to Urban. Even the Gaetani were divided, for Honoratus deprived his brother Jacopo of Sermoneta. On December 2, 1378, Clement VII. bestowed Genzano and Nemi on Jordan Orsini: *dat. Fundis IV. Non. Decbr. A. I.* (Ratti, *Stor. di Genzano*, App., p. 104).

[2] The Act of peace (Gaetani Archives) mentions as heads of the republic the three Conservators (*Lellus de Cancellariis*, *Vaschus de Vaschis*, *Paulus Trontolo*), 2 *executores fel. soc. Ba. et Pa. urbis* (*Cechus Deo* and *Cecchus Nardi Bascii*), 4 *consiliarios societatis pred.* (*Paul. Lupiello*, *Nicol. de Calvis*, *Janucius Palutii Nicolai Mancini* and *Baronus*), and 2 *anteposити sup. guerris R. P.* (*Paul. Angeli de Fuscis de Berta* and *Matth. Jacobi Saxonis de Amatescis*). *Acceptata fuerunt dicta capitula . . . per man. nob. viror. D. Marci de Amatescis leg. doctoris et Lelli Cole Rubei civium Romanor. sub A.D.* 1379. *Ind. II. m. Febr. die* (the number is absent). With three disfigured wax seals of the notaries of each office. On June 3 Jordan also did homage to the Pope, who calls him *Jordanus de Ursinus de monte Jordano* (Letter to Christendom, June 12, 1379, Raynald, n. 31). Jordan, who was deeply in debt, soon went over to Honoratus again.

famous condottieri of Italy. This company had been raised on Veronese territory, was 800 lances strong, and formed almost entirely of Italians. Urban summoned it to Rome to fight against the Bretons of his Ultramontane rival. The popes made war on one another by mercenaries. Even here the schism had assumed a national character, for the first Italian company stood on the side of the Italian pope, the foreign mercenaries on the side of the foreigner. Clement VII. had sent the savage Bretons, under Count Montjoie, his nephew, and the Captain Bernard of Sala, against Rome to relieve S. Angelo. The Italians, however, under Alberigo and Galeazzo Pepoli, marched against them, and meeting them at Marino, massacred or took prisoners the Bretons and their leaders. This encounter between the two popes within sight of Rome forms an epoch in the history of Italy; for the first time native weapons were victorious over the companies of foreign freebooters, and the creation of a new art of Italian warfare may be dated from the battle of Marino.[1]

Alberigo da Barbiano gains a victory over the Bretons at Marino, April 29, 1379.

Alberigo entered Rome in triumph. Urban made him a knight, and presented him with a banner, on which, inscribed in gold letters, were the words, "Italy delivered from the barbarians." Thus, in the midst of the horrors of the schism, a noble national thought at least shone forth as a feeble light to the

[1] *Cron. Sanese*, Mur., xv. 263; *Estense, ibid.*, 503, 504; *Ist. Padovana* of Gataro, Mur., xvii. 277. Walsingham exaggerates the number of dead to 5000. Canestrini, "Introduction to the History of the Italian Militia," *Arch. Stor.*, xv. p. lxxi.

Italians.[1] On the day of the battle S. Angelo surrendered owing to the mediation of the chancellor, John Cenci.[2] The Pope wished to keep the fortress for himself, but the Roman people unfortunately would not allow him. From this mausoleum Rome had been harassed for almost an entire year, although the Breton garrison had only consisted of seventy-five men. Scarcely did the Romans see it in their power, when they rushed upon it, intending to level the building with the ground. Since the first siege under Belisarius, a thousand storms of war had swept over the head of the venerable mausoleum without entirely destroying it. It still endured, devoid of ornament and in altered guise, with blackened blocks of marble, with high round walls, on which the Orsini had erected a crown of battlements, and with towers and lateral walls built on to it. Cimabue, who came to Rome in 1272, has left us a view of the city in a fresco at Assisi, and in it depicted S. Angelo. The painting shows us the

[1] The Florentines recognised the victory as a national event. On May 11, 1379, they congratulated the *Societas Italicorum. . . . Quid enim potuit nobis et toti Italie—gloriosius intimari, quam invictam societ. vram, non anglico non theutonico milite conflatam, sed italici nominis tantum assumpsisse roboris virtutis—spem magnam in merito vestro concipite, qui pro—patria pugnantes, adhuc merebimini liberatores Italie nominari—videtis in quor. manib. italia vix olim totius mundi—domina, ignavia pervenerit Latinor.* (Archiv. Flor., Sig. Carteggio, n. xviii. 9.)

[2] This is also shown by a letter of S. Catherine, in which she reproaches the Roman authorities with ingratitude to Cenci. *Lett.*, iv. 357, *a' Signori Banderesi e quattro buoni uomini mantenitori della Rep. di Roma.* She also wrote to Barbiano, *ibid.*, p. 345. Walsingham gives the number of the garrison in the fortress, p. 222.

aspect that it presented in the thirteenth century, and preserved until 1379. The mausoleum has a square substructure of hewn stones with pillars at the corners; on the cornice are bucrania and garlands. From this ponderous block rises a round building formed of squared stones, with square windows and battlements. Above is a mediaeval tower, square and flat on the top, entirely corresponding in plan to the Torre delle Milizie and the Torre de' Conti. The chapel of S. Michael is not indicated in the painting.[1] Such was the aspect of S. Angelo when it was destroyed in April 1379. Petrarch would have shuddered had he seen the Romans, who, in barbarous rage for destruction, annihilated one of the most remarkable monuments of their city, untroubled by the indignant shades of Hadrian and Belisarius, of Crescentius and Gregory VII. It was thus always the Romans themselves who destroyed the monuments of their own history. The mausoleum was pulled down to the central part which encloses the vault. And it is solely due to the strength of the black peperino masses that the ancient building, although in altered form, still towers over Rome; first an imperial tomb; afterwards a prison and a fortress; later the sepulchre of Roman freedom in the Middle Ages; and then, until our own days—when, as I write this history, the last hour of papal dominion seems nigh—the stronghold of the temporal power of the pope; and

S. Angelo conquered and destroyed, April 1379.

[1] J. Strgowski, *Cimabue und Rom.*, Vienna, p. 84 f., Pl. iv. S. Angelo is similarly depicted on the gold bull of Lewis the Bavarian.

for all time a treasury of historic memories.[1] The ruins of S. Angelo lay for years on the ground. The blocks of marble were removed to pave squares and construct buildings; goats clambered over its remains.[2]

The fall of the fortress placed Urban in possession of the Vatican also. He entered it in solemn procession, walking barefoot, a spectacle so unwonted, that Catherine awarded him the praise of humility.

Clement VII. now found himself in danger, for Alberigo might appear any day before Anagni and besiege him there.[3] He fled first to Sperlonga near

Clement VII. flies to Naples.

[1] I may record that on the day when I wrote this note (December 11, 1866), the French garrison surrendered S. Angelo to the papal troops.

[2] *Romani muros ejus ex quadratis lapidib. marmoreis altissimis valde magne compositos, et etiam muros archi seu carceris—diruerunt, et longo tempore ex eisd. lapidibus calcem coxerunt, pro utilitate publica illam volentibus vendiderunt et de minutis lapidibus dicti castri plateas in ipsa urbe in diversis locis reformaverunt; tamen castrum non potuerunt omnino destruere* (Niem, *De Schism.*, i. c. 20, and more completely in the *Cod. Gothanus*, with the text of which I have been made acquainted by Herr Sauerland). Niem saw here subterranean passages, through which two horsemen could have ridden abreast. Infessura, p. 1115; *Cron. Sanese*, p. 263. Benv. d'Imola (Mur., *Antiq.*, i. 1070): *sed proh dolor! istud sumtuosum opus destructum est de anno praes.* 1379 *per Pop. Rom.* Walsingham, p. 233: *Romani de visibili materia crudelem cepere vindictam.*—The *Chron. of Bologna* (Mur., xviii. 520) gives April 29 as the day of the surrender. Urban VI. wrote, that it had taken place the same day as the battle of Marino. To Christendom, *Rom. ap. S. Petr. pridie Id. Junii a II.* Rayn., n. 31. Luigi Fumi ("Notizie officiali sulla Battaglia di Marino," *Studi e Docum. di Storia e Diritto*, 1886) quotes a letter of the *Antepositi sopra le guerre del P. Rom.*, according to which the people occupied and began to destroy the fortress on April 30.

[3] Froissart, lib. ii. c. 49, says that after the fall of S. Angelo, Silvestro Buda attacked the Capitol, and killed the seven Banderesi and the

Gaeta, then sought refuge at Naples. The Queen gave him shelter in the Castell' dell' Uovo, but the Neapolitans regarded with displeasure a foreigner acknowledged as pope, while their own countryman was rejected, and one day raised the cry, "Long live Urban VI." The houses of the Ultramontanes were sacked. The terrified Queen allowed her protégé to return to Fundi. Unsupported now in Italy, he took ship at Gaeta at the end of May. France received him with loud acclamations; the five cardinals of the French papacy, who had remained there, came to meet him and do him homage, and Robert of Geneva, the tiara on his head, rode into the gloomy fortress of Avignon, which suddenly became reanimated by the presence of a papal court. The question whether the Papacy could exist out of Rome was to be decided for the second time. History was pronounced in favour of the Eternal City. For Avignon stands to the Christian Church only as Samaria with its temple stood after the Jewish schism, while Rome remained the theocratic Jerusalem, in which was preserved the Ark of the Covenant of the Catholic religion.

He goes to Avignon, June 1379.

So convincing were Urban's successes that even Joanna in fear resolved to recognise him and sent him envoys. But the reconciliation was not accomplished. The foolish Queen shrank from a breach with France and remained an adherent of Clement VII. Urban's hatred of this woman was unbounded; he trembled with impatience to hurl her from her

most illustrious Romans. I only take notice of this fable because Christophe, *Hist. de la Papauté*, iii. 49, accepts it as true.

blood-stained throne, on which she had only been placed by the Avignonese popes. A late but terrible judgment was accomplished and the schism, which Joanna encouraged, proved the abyss into which she herself fell.

Urban VI. bestows the crown of Naples on Charles of Durazzo.

On April 21, 1380, Urban pronounced the Queen deposed from the throne, and called on a prince to execute his sentence. Lewis of Hungary consented that his nephew should go to conquer the offered crown, for he wished to remove this ambitious prince and secure the throne to Maria, his own daughter. Charles, son of Lewis of Durazzo, surnamed della Pace, had been brought up by the King of Hungary, and had gone as his general to Treviso in 1379 to fight the Venetians. Venice was then at war with Genoa, a war which the heroic deeds of Vittore Pisano and Carlo Zeno have rendered immortal.[1] Charles readily accepted the Pope's summons, and promised to hasten to Rome with an army as soon as the Venetian war was ended. Urban recognised that the elevation to the throne of Naples of a king whom he had himself created was the means of excluding Clement VII. from Italy and restricting the schism to France. He found himself in the position of those popes who had sent the first Angevin against King Manfred. Like them he was perplexed how to find the money to equip Charles for his expedition. Meanwhile French supplies flowed

[1] He was son of Lewis, a brother of that Charles Durazzo whom Lewis of Hungary caused to be put to death at Aversa, as accessory to the murder of Andreas. Costo *Annot.* to Colenuccio, *Stor. del Regno di Nap.*, v. 196.

abundantly into his rival's coffers. In his distress Clement VII. had also armed a counter-pretender, Lewis, Duke of Anjou, brother to Charles V. of France, whom Joanna in her difficulty had adopted as heir on June 29, 1380, and had summoned to Naples. The two popes and Joanna thus wove a fatal web, in which several generations were entrapped, and unfortunate Naples had to expiate the selfishness of a few potentates by long and terrible revolutions. Clement VII. confirmed the adoption. He was filled by such blind hatred of Urban, that he even resolved to transform the State of the Church into a kingdom, to be called Adria, and to bestow it on Lewis. This new kingdom was to be formed on the model of the vassal state of Sicily, which had been created for Charles of Anjou.[1]

Joanna adopts Lewis of Anjou.

Urban VI. had by this time become ruler in Rome. The victory at Marino had given him power to quell a rising which had been called forth by his despotic conduct, or instigated by the agents of the anti-pope. The Romans one day attacked the Vatican; Urban ordered the doors of the palace to be thrown open and showed himself to the people,

[1] Bull of Clement VII., *XV. Kal. Maji* 1379, from Sperlonga, in Lünig, ii. n. 95. The *regnum Adriae* was to be formed of all the provinces of the State of the Church, Rome and the ancient duchy excepted; these also remained untouched by the Convention of September 1864. This curious project, which would have annihilated the State of the Church, was not carried out, the Angevin renouncing it in order to acquire the Neapolitan crown. It was afterwards revived by Gian Galeazzo, who hoped to gain the crown of Adria for his son-in-law, Lewis of Orleans. Paul Durrieu, "Le royaume d'Adria" (*Revue d. quest. historiques*, i. 28, 1880, p. 43 f.).

seated on the throne, his breast bared to the swords of the intruders. His manly strength disarmed the rebels, who fell prostrate on their faces, and Catherine pacified the anger of the people as well as that of the Pope.[1]

Death of Catherine of Siena, April 29, 1380.

This was the last act of the saint. She died, thirty-three years old, on April 29, 1380. Her figure flits like that of an angel through the darkness of the time, over which her gracious genius sheds a soft radiance. Her life is a more worthy, and assuredly a more human, subject for history than the lives of the popes of her time. She not only belongs to the brief list of characters conspicuous for genuine virtue; she was also a historic, because a moral, force of her epoch, as was Matilda of Canossa long before her, and the Maid of Orleans forty years later. If princely rank, however, gave power and influence to Hildebrand's great protectress, the influence exercised by the daughter of the poor dyer is only the more surprising. It rested on the power of a gifted and inspired womanliness. Men ever look with greatest surprise on characters that have vanquished self, and regard this—to them—incomprehensible action as the solution of the highest problem in the moral nature. It is, indeed, strange to behold the saint beside a Queen Joanna, to whom she addressed letters, or beside the popes

[1] Extracts from Raym. Capuanus, *Vita S. Cathar. senen.*, in Rayn., A. 1379, n. 34; and Gobelin, *Cosmodrom.*, vi. c. 76. Walsingham, too, admires the firmness of Urban, the Pope recognised by England. Urban received for military preparations a contribution of 3000 gold florins from the clergy, which he had demanded on April 28, 1380. Brief in Theiner, ii. n. 626, in which he also speaks of this revolt.

of Avignon and then beside Urban VI. and Clement VII. She wandered between France and Italy, between Avignon and Rome, as a messenger of harmony. She was the envoy of popes, princes, and republics, who entrusted important matters of peace to the hands of an inexperienced girl, whose speech was only the graceful dialect of the people of Siena. To the poetic imagination of S. Francis she united a greater practical energy than her predecessor had possessed. She maintained widespread political relations with her native country. Her remarkable letters, melodious as the language of children, conceived and expressed as it were in a strange sphere of thought, show this mysterious creature in active intercourse with all the prominent personages of her time, as Pier Damiani had been in an earlier age. She wrote to cardinals, princes, and tyrants, to generals of mercenaries, heads of republics, kings and popes, with a charming candour. With the glowing fervour of a priestess, she admonished Gregory XI. and Urban VI. especially to purify the Church, and on almost every page of her letters stands the great word "Reformation." Of the two objects that filled her soul, one—the return of the sacred chair to Rome—was realised, but the other, the reform of the degenerate clergy, remained only a despairing wish. She died in bitterest grief over the schism that rent asunder the Church. The Romans, in the presence of the Senator John Cenci and of the officials of the republic, buried the saint in the beautiful temple of S. Maria sopra Minerva, where she still enjoys the honour of an altar. Rome

thus thanked her for the part she had borne in the return of the Papacy, and even after an interval of nearly five hundred years the recollection still survives. For on the proposal of the Senate, and by means of a bull, Pius IX. pronounced Catherine patron saint of the city in 1866, in order that by her intercession in heaven the same sacred chair that she had brought from Avignon to S. Peter's might be kept in Rome.[1] Italy ought indeed to honour her as a national saint, and so destitute was the country of great citizens during the era of Avignon, that the most enlightened patriots she produced were a poet clad as an abbé, a crazy tribune, and a visionary maiden of the people.

[1] I record the fact in this history, which I write in Rome, at a time when a terrible catastrophe seems to threaten the Papacy with another term of exile. The edict of the Cardinal of Portus of March 8, 1866, says: *quippe quae in Petri Cathedram ad bonor. salutem impior. terrorem in hac Vrbe divinitus constitutam, Rom. Pontifices per annos plurimos ab ea avulsos, suis consiliis, precib. atque opera iterum revocaverit.— — Quoniam vero nostris hisce luctuosis temporib. perditissimi hostes bellum adv. Christum, ejusq. sponsam E. instaurantes civili Rom. Pontificem Principatu in B. Petri Cathedrae decus et presidium concesso spoliare, et etiam ex hac Urbe ejicere—contendunt, perillustris Al. Urbis Senatus avitae pietatis vestigiis inhaerens potentissimo S. Catherinae patrocinio se suaq. committendum decrevit; pro certo enim habet, ut Deus Patronae huj. coelestis precib. exoratus Urbem ab impendenti periculo sit asseriurus. Quapropt. S.D.N. Pio P. IX. supplicem porrexit libellum, quo instantius petebat ut S. sua, B. Catharinam Senensem in secundarios Urbis Patronus referre dignaretur.* A naïve belief in our times!

4. Energetic Rule of Urban VI. in Rome—Charles of Durazzo, Senator and King of Naples—Lewis of Anjou, Rival King—Tragic end of Joanna I.—Urban VI. in Naples—His differences with Charles—Urban in Nocera—Conspiracy and cruel treatment of some Cardinals — Urban besieged in Nocera — His Flight—Urban VI. in Genoa—He causes the Cardinals to be put to Death—Goes to Lucca—End of Charles of Durazzo—Urban goes to Rome—Fall of Francesco of Vico—Revolt of the Banderesi—Death of Urban VI., 1389.

The city of Rome, at this time ruled by its authorities under altered forms, was entirely devoted to Urban VI., the representative of the national Roman Papacy. He appointed senators and even nominated other magistrates for such time as he pleased.[1] The Bishop of Cordova was consequently able to assert that Rome had never been so obedient to a pope.[2] Beyond some nobles and Queen Joanna, Urban no longer beheld an enemy in Italy. And even these adversaries were now to be vanquished

[1] Senators: *Guilelm. de Morramannis*, Prior of the Knights of S. John at Naples, ratifies the Statute of the Merchants on June 14, 1379. In the same year also *Brancaccio de Bonaccorsi* of Monte Melone (October 10) and *Bartol. de Riccomanno* of Siena. In 1380 a Roman, *Johes de Cinthiis*, ratifies the Statute on April 28, and appears in a document of Aspra on July 30. Then *Petrus Lantis de Pisis leg. Doctor.* ratifies the Statute on October 31.—Papal appointment of Executors of Justice and of Syndics of the city, September 8, 1380, Theiner, ii. n. 630, 631.

[2] Account given by the Bishop of Cordova to the King of Aragon. Rayn., n. 46.

by Charles of Durazzo. Charles came to Rome with an army in 1380, a man thirty-five years of age, short, fair, active, a friend of learning and poetry, of gentle manners but inspired with the ambition of the Angevins. Urban made him standard-bearer of the Church and Senator, whereupon the prince installed Fra Raymond of Montebello, Prior of the order of S. John in Hungary, as his vicar on the Capitol.[1] In order to arm Charles for his undertaking, the Pope plundered the Roman churches and Church estates; splendid vessels, massive images of saints were carried to the furnace, and a vast sum was thus accumulated. Charles remained in Rome until the summer of 1381. On June 1 he received the investiture of Naples, on the following day the crown.[2] In token of recognition he promised Francesco Prignano, surnamed Butillo, nephew of the Pope, to confirm him in the possession of Capua, Amalfi, Salerno, Fundi, Caserta, and Sorrento; Urban, of his papal authority, having already endowed his uncouth relative with these principalities, the fairest portion of the monarchy.

Charles of Durazzo in Rome, Nov. 1380.

Leaving the Florentine Lapo of Castiglionchio, a learned friend of Petrarch, behind as his vicar, Charles quitted Rome for Naples.[3] Jacopo Gaetani,

[1] He ratifies the Statute of the Merchants as *Vicegerens Seren. principis D. Caroli de Duratio Gonfalonerii S. R. E. ac Alm. Urb. Senatoris Ill.* on January 12, 1381; this shows the error in the date made by the historians of the Senate.

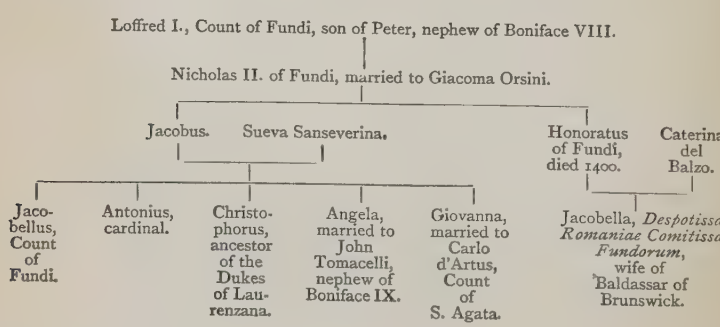
[2] Rayn., A. 1381, n. 2. The description of the coronation in a letter of Franc. da Castiglionchio to his father Albert in *Vita di Messer Lapo di Castigl.*, ed. Mehus, Bol., 1753, p. 149.

[3] See the above-named work of Mehus. Lapo, a celebrated pro-

the brother and mortal enemy of Honoratus, followed his banner.[1] The unfortunate kingdom was again the scene of a war of conquest, kindled by the caprice of a woman and a pope's thirst for revenge. Hungarians, Bretons, Germans, French, Italians fought for years for and against Durazzo and Anjou, for and against Urban VI. and Clement VII. The death of Charles V. had detained in France the adoptive son of the Queen, and Joanna's only support was her valiant husband Otto of Brunswick. Otto sought in vain, like Manfred in former times, to

fessor of law in Padua, was banished from Florence. The Romans, we are told, banished him on June 21, 1381; he died on June 27 and was buried in Aracoeli. But his vice-senatorship is known neither to documents nor history. Vitale is wrong in saying that he was succeeded by Raymund de Montebello, since the latter was in office as early as June 2.

[1] Charles III. consequently conferred several fortresses in Naples upon him. On November 9, 1389, from the confiscated property of Honoratus, Boniface IX. presented him with the Palace of the Gaetani on the island of the Tiber (*insula Lycaonie de Urbe*). Bull *dat. Rom. ap. S. Petris V. Id. Nov. Pont. n. A. I.* (Gaetani Archives; in Carinci, p. 73). The genealogical tree of the Gaetani of this time is as follows:—


Loffred I., Count of Fundi, son of Peter, nephew of Boniface VIII.
Nicholas II. of Fundi, married to Giacoma Orsini.
Jacobus.
Sueva Sanseverina.
Honoratus of Fundi, died 1400.
Caterina del Balzo.
Jacobellus, Count of Fundi.
Antonius, cardinal.
Christophorus, ancestor of the Dukes of Laurenzana.
Angela, married to John Tomacelli, nephew of Boniface IX.
Giovanna, married to Carlo d'Artus, Count of S. Agata.
Jacobella, *Despotissa Romaniae Comitissa Fundorum*, wife of Baldassar of Brunswick.

make a stand against the enemy on the Liris. Charles defeated him at S. Germano on June 28, entered Naples soon after and besieged the Queen in the Castell' dell' Uovo. Her husband, who was hastening to her relief, being taken prisoner, Joanna surrendered to the victor on August 25.[1] In the spring of the following year, Lewis of Anjou, already crowned king by the anti-pope, appeared on the scene of action at the head of a French army and accompanied by the Count of Geneva, by Amadeus of Savoy, and several noble lords. Never had a stronger force appeared against Naples, and this decided the fate of the imprisoned Queen. By command of Charles of Durazzo, Robert's granddaughter was strangled with a silken cord in the castle at Muro, in May 1382, and her remains were exposed to public view for seven days in S. Chiara at Naples. Thus did the unfortunate woman expiate in her old age the crimes of her youth.

Charles of Durazzo conquers Naples in the summer of 1381.

Queen Joanna strangled, May 1382.

In his desire for revenge Lewis now crossed the Abruzzi and entered the kingdom. Urban, fearing for Rome, took Hawkwood into his service, and the Romans flew to arms. They would probably have renounced the Pope had the Angevin appeared before their walls. He did not, however, enter Roman territory, and only some cities in the

Lewis of Anjou enters Neapolitan territory.

[1] *Illa meretrix magna quae sedit super aquas multas et vocabatur regina Neapolis*, thus Walsingham speaks of the Mary Stuart of Naples. We may read in Froissart, c. ii. 137, 138, the delightful stories of Virgil's castle (*Castel dell' Uovo*) which a sorcerer offered to conquer.

State of the Church, Corneto, Todi, Amelia, Ancona, in fear declared in his favour. But the power of his troops was soon shattered by Charles's tactics, and the flower of his army wasted by illness and fatigue. The war of the two pretenders was meanwhile so lame and ineffective, that the impatient Urban resolved to go to Charles in person; and henceforward the life of the Pope is closely interwoven with the war of succession in Naples. Urban VI. at the head of mercenary bands, instigated solely by thoughts of hatred and temporal sovereignty, one of the most repulsive figures among the popes, has scarcely any higher claim to regard in history than that of a general or pretender to a crown.

Urban VI. departs for Naples, April 19, 1383.

Six cardinals opposed the journey; but he nevertheless resolved to make it, since he wished to remind Charles of the principalities promised to his nephew. He secretly left Rome, where the pestilence was raging, on April 19, 1383. Had the Romans known of his intention, they would assuredly have detained him. He remained one month at Tivoli, two at Valmontone. He then went to Ferentino, S. Germano, Suessa, and Capua. Charles greeted him with displeasure at Aversa, where he kept him for five days shut up in his beautiful castle, in order to extort his desires. Naples received him with pomp in the beginning of November, but here also the King immediately conducted him to the Castello Nuovo. And not until after a treaty concerning the nephew's fiefs had been negotiated through the intervention of

the cardinals, and until Urban had promised not to interfere in affairs of state, did Charles allow him to take his seat in the cathedral.[1] The Pope soon found himself in strained relations with the King, his ungrateful creature. Wherever Urban VI. appeared, appeared also the furies of dissension, his constant attendants. Charles wished him to leave the country, and the Pope began to assume the airs of a feudal superior. No one heeded him, and never before had reverence for the Vicar of Christ fallen so low. In June 1384 he left Naples, to retire in his anger to Nocera, a town that belonged to his nephew. And here in the fortress, where in former times Helena, Manfred's widow, had met her death in prison, Urban fixed his seat.[2]

Strained relations with Charles.

After having but just returned to Rome, the Papacy now seemed to be removed to the kingdom of Naples, and Christendom looked affrighted on the actions of two popes, of whom one at Avignon, the other at Nocera, each surrounded with a senate of cardinals, led an existence darkened with hatred. The history of this period, especially of the sojourn

[1] Niem accompanied the Pope as secretary, beheld with German eyes the beauty of the country, and scoffed at the fable of Virgil's grave. Of Monte Barbaro, near Baiae, he says that the Germans called it Gral (ii. c. 20): *quem delusi multi Alemanni in vulgari appellant* "der Gral," *asserentes quod in illo multi sunt homines vivi et victuri usque ad diem judicii, qui tripudiis et deliciis sunt dediti, et ludibriis diabolicis perpetuo irretiti.* They transferred to it their native legend of the Venusberg.

[2] The name *Luceria Christianorum* came into use at this time, as Gobelin, *Cosm.*, vi. c. 77, tells us. *Nucera* was confused with *Luceria* in Apulia.

Urban VI. in Nocera.

of Urban VI. in Naples and Nocera, displays a barbarism of manners and conduct that is truly appalling. The differences between Urban and Charles waxed greater every day. Urban did not leave Nocera, not even when in September 1384 the Duke of Anjou died at Bari, transmitting his rights to Joanna's kingdom to his little son Lewis. The brave prince had seen the failure of his enterprise, equipped at such immense cost; had watched the leading nobles die around him, and his army dwindle. His death gave Charles fresh power; he now treated the Pope with less regard, and the Pope repulsed with violence every attempt at intercession. The King, suspecting that he cherished the foolish scheme of placing his nephew Butillo on the throne, requested his return to Naples, but Urban answered with contempt. Among the cardinals were some who disapproved of his enigmatic conduct, or whom Charles had bribed, and all had been unwilling to go to Nocera. Since this part of the country swarmed with predatory bands and brigands, and since even the road to Naples was not safe, they feared for their own persons, while their sojourn in the fortress, the resort of the most infamous society, was insupportable. Every educated man must have shrunk from the sight of the savage faces that frequented the castle; captains of mercenaries and corsairs, spies in the pay of Charles, mendicant priests, cunning lawyers, the rude clergy of the district constantly came and went. What detained the Pope? Why did

he not return to Rome? His whim savoured of insanity. Charles wished to be rid of him at any cost. The cardinals hated him. The question of deposing him was privately discussed and submitted to legal opinion.

Conspiracy of the cardinals and its punishment.

But Cardinal Orsini of Manupello whispered to Urban that a conspiracy was on foot against him, and the Pope caused six cardinals who had opposed his journey to Naples to be seized and let down into a cistern, on January 11, 1385.[1] According to the opinion of Dietrich of Niem, they were all blameless and learned men. The historian of the schism, an eye-witness of their prolonged sufferings, describes them with the sympathy of a humane observer. They languished in a damp subterranean vault, loaded with fetters and tormented by hunger, cold, and loathsome vermin. The inhuman nephew accompanied their groans of anguish with savage laughter, while the Holy Father paced the terrace of the castle to and fro, reading his breviary aloud, by his presence to urge the ministers of torture to greater energy.[2] The entire Curia was struck with horror and indignation. Some cardinals who had remained behind in Naples, among whom was Pileus of Tusculum, deserted Urban; they issued

[1] Gobelin, c. 78, believes in the conspiracy, which actually aimed at burning the Pope as a heretic. From motives of gratitude he was one of Urban's most zealous adherents; he was not, however, with the Pope in January 1385, but at Benevento.

[2] Niem has excellently described both persons and events. When he exhorted Urban to forgiveness, *facta est facies ejus tandem prae iracundia quasi lampas ardens, et guttur ejus raucedine replebatur, quod videns obstupui*, i. c. 52.

letters to the clergy in Rome, in which they spoke of the necessity of a General Council.[1]

Aflame with anger, Urban hurled sentence of excommunication and deposition on the King and his wife Margaret, an amazon worthy of the time. He laid Naples under the interdict, and cherished dreams of placing the crown on the brainless head of his nephew. But Charles now sent troops against him. The same Alberigo who had gained the victory at Marino, now, as Grand Constable of Naples, besieged him at Nocera. With the sound of trumpets it was proclaimed from the walls of the town that whoever surrendered the Pope dead or alive should receive a reward of 10,000 gold florins.[2] The head of Christianity was thus proscribed like a brigand chief. And like a general of mercenaries the Pope defended himself. He is described as going three or four times to the window, a bell in one hand, a torch in the other, and with a countenance burning with hatred, cursing the army of the King which stood below.[3]

King Charles causes Urban VI. to be besieged in Nocera.

The town of Nocera had fallen, but the fortress, though sore pressed, still held out. On July 5, Raymondello Orsini, son of the Count of Nola,

Raimondello Orsini comes to the relief of the Pope.

[1] The letter, undated, is given by Baluze, ii. 983. The cardinals describe him, *ut videatur insano similis et furenti.*

[2] *Qui Papam captum aut mortuum, non tamen morte divina—regio officiali assignaverint—decem millia florenor. auri illico dari—faciemus.* Edict of the generals, May 10, 1385, before Nocera, Baluz., ii. 982.

[3] *E tre e quattro volte il dì usceva a la fenestra, e co la campanella, e co la torcia malediceva et escomunicava l'esercito del Rè. Giornali Napol.*, Mur., xxi. 1052.

first an adherent of Durazzo, then leader of such Angevins as still remained in arms, came to the relief of the starving Pope. The count opened a way through the besiegers and entered the fortress. But longer resistance was impossible. Urban had already sent messengers to Antonio Adorno, the Doge of Genoa, and ten galleys had arrived in the harbour of Naples to take him on board. On July 7 he left Nocera, accompanied by Raymondello and surrounded by rapacious mercenaries, Italians, French, Bretons, and Germans, who were ready to sell him at any moment if he did not yield to their demands. He carried the captive prelates with him in his hurried flight. Worn out with suffering and in chains, they were scarcely able to sit their horses. One of them, the Bishop of Aquila, excited Urban's suspicions; the Pope caused him to be put to death, and he was left lying by the wayside like a dog. The company rode in horror and fear of death to the coast at Salerno. Here a part of the troops rebelled. The Pope bought his release. With 300 German and Italian lances, he proceeded to Benevento, thence like a bandit hurried across mountains, heaths, and rivers, under the burning August sun, to reach the Adriatic coast, where the cities held to the Angevin. The hunted members of the Curia longingly scanned the ocean's furthest distance, until at Trani they one day descried the Genoese sails on the horizon.[1] The fugitive band threw themselves exhausted on the shore, greeted with shouts by the sailors, who received their

Flight from Nocera.

[1] Gobelin joined the band at Benevento (vi. c. 80).

ferocious Pope as their ancestors had formerly received Innocent IV.

Urban VI. in Genoa, Sept. 1385.

Urban sailed from Bari to Messina, then by Corneto to Genoa, where he landed on September 23.[1] His roughness irritated the authorities and people of the republic, with whom he was immediately at strife. The Doge, the chief citizens, and the clergy urged him to liberate the wretched cardinals as he had promised. An unsuccessful attempt at flight aroused his anger. He immediately caused the cardinals to be put to death. Whether they were tied in sacks and thrown into the sea, or strangled, or buried alive is unknown. The English cardinal, Adam Aston, on the urgent remonstrance of his king, was alone restored to freedom.[2] Two others, who had not been imprisoned, Pileus, Bishop of Tusculum, and Galeottus of Pietramala, had already deserted to Avignon.[3] The hideous deed took place on the night of

[1] The whole journey is attractively described by Gobelin. In the harbour of Corneto Urban mortgaged this city to Genoa, in repayment for the expenses of the republic. These amounted to 80,000 gold florins for four months, since Gobelin reckons the cost of a galley at 2000 gold florins per month. Each carried 180 rowers and 50 archers.

[2] He is buried in S. Cecilia in Rome, whither he betook himself under the pontificate of Boniface IX. — *Vita Clem. VII.*, Mur., iii. ii. 745. Several years later, Gobelin heard that the unfortunate man had been strangled in prison and buried in a stable (vi. c. 81).

[3] On July 24, 1386, the Pope wrote *dil. filiis populo et officialib. alme urbis ;* he commends them on account of the troops whom they had sent to Card. Thomas of S. Maria in Dominica against the Prefect Francesco of Vico, and informs them that he had brought Pileus and Galeottus to trial. *Dat. Janue VIII. Kal. Aug. P. n IX.* (*Arch. d. Soc. R.*, vii. 539.

December 15, 1386. In the morning the insane Urban took ship and sailed for Lucca. Thence he intended to return to Naples with an army.

A sad event had reduced everything in the kingdom to confusion: Lewis of Hungary had died on September 11, 1382, without leaving a male heir. The malcontents had summoned Charles of Durazzo, who had crossed to Dalmatia in September 1385, to snatch the Hungarian crown from the head of Maria, Lewis's youthful daughter, and the betrothed of Sigismund, brother of Wenceslaus. The barons of the country crowned Charles in Stuhlweissenburg; but on February 7, 1386, he was stabbed by a brutal Hungarian in presence of the widowed Queen Elizabeth. Royal women thus avenged Charles's murder of a queen, their cousin, and the hand of fate turned against a usurper. Terrible is the dark working of Nemesis in the house of Anjou, a house founded in the blood of the Hohenstaufens. Within the space of a few decades the gory shades of the young Andreas, of Queen Joanna, and of Charles of Durazzo stand side by side. Poison hastened the end of the King, already seriously wounded, and he died on February 24. He left under the guardianship of Margaret two young children, Ladislaus and Joanna, whose fate afterwards gave them a world-wide celebrity.

Charles of Durazzo murdered Feb. 7, 1386.

Charles's death plunged his country into immediate anarchy. The Angevin faction wished to summon the heir of Duke Lewis from France and to set him on the throne, and the pretenders to the crown put forward by both parties were thus children under age,

Ladislaus on one side and Lewis of Anjou on the other. Otto of Brunswick had pronounced in favour of Lewis. The husband of Joanna, who had previously obtained his liberty and had gone to Avignon, now returned with troops, and entered Naples on July 20, 1387, while Margaret, the fugitive widowed queen, shut herself up with her children in impregnable Gaeta.

Urban VI. in Perugia.

Urban VI. was at this time in Lucca, whence he went to Perugia, solely occupied with the thought of conquering Naples for his nephew; he consequently recognised neither of the two pretenders. It was not until August 1388 that he left Perugia with 4000 spearmen, chiefly English, and advanced through Umbria. A fall from his mule warned him. An aged hermit appeared before him and said: "Thou wilt go to Rome, willingly or not; in Rome thou wilt die." His excited imagination beheld the form of S. Peter hovering over him as if showing him the way to Rome. The Romans would forcibly have prevented his going to Naples, had not their military strength been less than that of the Pope.[1] Urban was carried to Tivoli in a litter. He halted at Ferentino, whence he wished to force his way into Neapolitan territory. The unpaid mercenaries had for the most part deserted him, and the fact induced him to accept the invitation of the Romans and return to the city in September.

His return to Rome, Sept. 1388.

Rome had meanwhile suffered severely from the war. Her enemies and those of the Pope, the Prefect, Count Honoratus, the Orsini, the errant

[1] Walsingham, p. 336.

bands had devastated the Campagna, while Catalan pirates laid waste the Maritima. Hunger and pestilence were familiar guests in the city. It was steeped in filth and abject poverty.[1] Not even the entire independence to which the Capitol had attained during Urban's long absence atoned for such a depth of decay. After the senatorship of Charles of Durazzo had expired according to agreement with the conquest of Naples (and in this case also his invasion was a repetition of that of the first Anjou), senators had governed Rome in succession until 1383, when the conservators and banderesi assumed the sole government.[2] They had waged

[1] The Romans made use of the empty palaces of the cardinals for building materials; Urban forbade this on December 30, 1382 (Theiner, ii. n. 639). Documents in the Colonna Archives referring to the Orsini of the time: On February 3, 1383, Jordan declares that Jacopo Orsini is not his child, but has been substituted by his wife Anastasia (Scaf. xvii. n. 87). On February 16, Jordan admits a debt of 60,000 florins to Honoratus of Fundi and mortgages Marino to him (n. 88, at Traetto). On February 18, Jordan cedes to his nephew Honoratus: Nepi, Montalto, Marino, Astura, Campagnano, all estates in France and elsewhere (xviii. n. 49). On June 19, 1384, Jordan makes his will in Bassano (xiii.). This Roman died in debt and miserable, in exile.

[2] Senators: summer 1381, *Petrus Lante iterum.* Then *Ragante de Tudinus de Massa* (ratifies the Statute of the Merchants September 27, 1381). A. 1382: *Thomas Minotti de Angelellis* of Bologna, appointed by a brief of July 23 (Theiner, ii. n. 636). A document of September 13, 1383, appoints merely conservators and their collateralis; likewise another document of September 12, 1388. Galletti's *Mscr. Vat.*, n. 8051, p. 61. From September until December 1384 *Lello de Cancellariis, Pietro Boni et Paolo del Fiore Conservatores cam. urbis senatoris uff. exercentes* (*Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, vol. vii., 1884, p. 531 f.). On July 22, 1385, I find: *Speranza et Jacobus Francisci Bandarenses, Torrimachia Andreas Johis Pauli et Garofalus tres ex quatuor consili-*

incessant war on Francesco of Vico; but finally this tyrant—one of the most violent members of a family distinguished by violence—fell a victim to a revolt in Viterbo, when the populace tore him in pieces.[1] As early as May 10 the Cardinal of Manupello had been able again to take possession of Viterbo in the name of the Church, and this success was an additional ground for Urban's return to Rome, where he was received with honour.[2]

Francesco of Vico murdered, May 8, 1387.

His attendant Furies, however, immediately began their game of dissension. The Pope wished to subjugate the Capitol and of his own authority to appoint a senator. The people consequently made an armed attack on the Vatican. But a few days afterwards the excommunicated banderesi were seen

ariis felicis soc. Pa. et Ba. urbis: Archives of S. Spirito, iii. 67. On May 11, 1386, two *anteposîti super pace et guerra: Arch. d. S. R.*, vii. 535.

[1] Bussi, p. 214. Niem wrongly calls the Prefect Angelus. The re-enfeoffment of Corneto (which adhered to him) by the Banderesi on May 28, 1387, says: *die post victoriam habitam contra damnat. mem. Franciscum de Vico qui se praef. Urbis intitulabat, neci traditum in festo B. Angeli VIII. praes. mensis* (*Margar. Cornetana, Mscr.*, Galletti, n. 7931, p. 244). On this account, the Romans presented a chalice to S. Angelo in Pescaria. After the death of the Prefect, Viterbo held negotiations with the Pope in Lucca, on May 26 (Theiner, ii. n. 643). On June 7 the Pope thence commands the treasurer of the Patrimony to take possession of the estates of the Church which Francesco de Vico had occupied (n. 644). On January 6, 1388, Jacopo, Archbishop of Genoa, absolves Viterbo from all the debts which it had contracted before May 10, 1387, and grants the city the constitution which it had had in the time of Albornoz (649).

[2] He had left Perugia on August 8; Ferentino, however, on September 1. "Docum. ex Tom. XLVIII. oblig. Praelat. ab A. 1385–1397," in Marini, *Archiatri*, vol. ii. 43.

approaching S. Peter's barefoot, a cord round their necks, wearing the shirts of penitents and carrying burning tapers in their hands. They knelt before the penitentiary, who, seated on a high episcopal throne, touched their heads with a rod. Urban VI. thus always showed himself a man of energy. Rome hated him, but nevertheless obeyed him more submissively than other popes.[1]

Urban had meditated on the most efficacious means of reducing the Romans to subjection; he proclaimed that the jubilee should be celebrated every thirty-three years, and would have fixed it for 1390, had he not been overtaken by death. He passed away on October 15, 1389, in S. Peter's, where he lies buried. The virtues which this Neapolitan is said to have possessed—energy, love of justice, and simplicity of life—were distorted into contrary excesses by his savage disposition. Rude energy and coarse strength are not qualities that redound to the praise of a priest, and we cannot extol Urban for having possessed them. A pope at the end of the fourteenth century had no claim to the lenient judgment which his predecessors, living in barbarous ages, should receive from posterity.

Death of Urban VI., Oct. 15, 1389.

[1] Concerning the revolt, see S. Antonin., *Hist.*, iii. tit. xxii. c. ii. sect. xiii. The scene of the absolution is described in the *Ordo Rom.* of the Penitentiary Amelius in Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.*, ii. 517. The Senator carried by the Pope was Damianus Cattaneus of Genoa. He ratified the Statute of the Merchants on June 25, 1389. His senatorship is mentioned by George Stella, *Annal. Gen.*, Mur., xvii. 1148. On December 11, 1389, Boniface IX. appointed two *Syndicatores* to Damianus, since his term of office neared its end. Theiner iii. n. 2.

We do not therefore venture to palliate the diabolical nature of the man by alleging the party passions called forth by the schism which had just begun, although these passions were the causes of his fury. The judgment of contemporaries remains valid; namely, that Urban VI. was a rude and inexorable tyrant.[1] Dietrich of Niem, who knew him well, says, however, in his praise, that he was never guilty of an act of simony, never trafficked with spiritual dignities, yet on his death left more money than he had found in the treasury.[2]

[1] *Vir pessimus, crudelis et scandalosus* (*Annal. Forliv.*, Mur., xxii. p. 196).—*Paucis admodum ejus mortem, utpote hominis rustici et inexorabilis, flentibus. Hujus autem sepulchrum adhuc visitur cum epitaphio satis rustico et inepto.* Platina, *Vita Urb. VI.* Concerning this tomb and its barbarous inscription, see my *Grabmäler der römischen Päpste.* The grateful Gobelin fixed better, though undeserved, verses to Urban's tomb (*Cosmod.*, vi. 81).

[2] *Iste Urbanus, quamq. continuas haberet guerras et multiplicatas expensas transeundo de loco ad locum, tamen—nunq. commisit simoniam. . . . Nullis etiam barataríis consensit. . . . Et adeo alti cordis erat, quod nunquam lamentabatur, quod rerum inopia gravaretur. Et dum moriebatur, plures pecunias dimisit in eadem camera, quam reperit.* Niem, end of lib. i., *de schismate.* This passage is not found in the printed editions; I am indebted for it to Herr Sauerland, who copied it from the *Cod. Gothanus* (*sæc.* xv.).

CHAPTER IV.

1. Boniface IX., Pope, 1389 — Ladislaus, King of Naples — The Jubilee of 1390 — Abuse of Indulgences — Avarice of Boniface IX. — The Ecclesiastical State is divided into Vicariates — The Pope's Treaty with Rome — Disturbances — Boniface goes to Perugia and Assisi — He concludes a Treaty with Rome, and returns to the City in 1393 — Resistance of the Banderesi to the Papal Government — Death of Clement VII. — Benedict XIII. Pope in Avignon, 1394 — Conspiracies in Rome — Fall of the Banderesi and Suppression of Roman Liberty by Boniface IX., 1398 — The Pope fortifies S. Angelo and the Capitol.

Boniface IX., Pope, 1389–1404.

Pietro Tomacelli, Cardinal of S. Anastasia, a Neapolitan, was elected in Rome on November 2, 1389, and consecrated as Boniface IX. on November 11. He was still young (only thirty), was a man of strong will, matured judgment, and blameless life. Aware of the errors of his predecessor's policy, he hastened to recognise the house of Durazzo and release it from the ban. His legate crowned the boyish Ladislaus as King of Naples in May 1390, and the Roman Church again turned

for support to this kingdom, its ancient vassal State.[1]

A pope who was able to seat himself on the throne with the bull of jubilee in his hand, was secure of great advantages. The festival announced by Urban VI. was celebrated in 1390, and although the schismatic nations bore no part in it, pilgrims streamed from Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and England to long desecrated Rome. The festival of the sacred jubilee had become a monetary speculation of the Pope, who sent agents into every country and dispensed indulgences for the price of the journey to Rome.[2] These shameless agents collected from various provinces more than 100,000 gold florins.[3] Money had become the great mainspring of the hierarchical financial establishment in Rome, which, to the mockery of Christendom, still called itself the Church; for without money the war for her existence could not be carried on. The most deplorable abuses waxed daily; simony and usury were practised unabashed. Contemporaries describe Boniface IX. as a man of exceedingly defective education but of acute intelligence, as avaricious and unscrupulous beyond measure. During his pontificate he gave every ecclesiastical office for money or its equivalent, and enforced payment for every petition that he granted. He did not even scorn a

Year of jubilee, 1390.

[1] Ladislaus' oath of vassalage, *dat. Gaeta, 29 Maji, Ind. XIII.*, in Raynald, A. 1390, n. 15.

[2] Dlugossi, *Histor. Polon.*, x. 123.

[3] Niem, i. c. 68. Boniface IX. issued a bull against these impostors, *dat. Rom. ap. S. Petrum XIV. Kal. Nov. A. I.* Raynald, n. 2.

few gold pieces, his maxim being that a little fish in the hand was worth a whale in the ocean. His relations, his avaricious mother and his two brothers incessantly accumulated wealth.[1]

Boniface, like his predecessor, was also compelled to sell ecclesiastical property and to mortgage the treasures of the churches. In his desperate straits, and in order to reduce the number of his adversaries, he conferred a multitude of vicariates in the State of the Church on magistrates and tyrants. After January 1390 he appointed Albert of Este vicar for Ferrara, Antonio Montefeltre for Urbino and Cagli, the Malatesta for Rimini, Fano, and Fossombrone, Lewis and Lippus Alidosi for Imola, Astorgius Manfredi for Faenza, Ordelaffo for Forli. On Fermo and Ascoli, and even on powerful Bologna, he conferred the vicariate in city and territory for twenty-five years. Inasmuch as these nobles and republics for a yearly tribute entered into this relation with the Pope, they recognised his supremacy and pledged themselves to hold his enemies their enemies, his friends their friends.[2] The dismemberment of the State of the Church into small hereditary States was consequently hastened.[3] And Boniface IX. in this wise acquired money and

Vicariates in the State of the Church.

[1] Niem, ii. c. 16, 13. He describes this Pope as the most grasping miser. See also *Vita Bonif. IX.*, Mur., iii. ii. 831.

[2] For the documents bearing on the point, see Theiner's *Cod. Dipl.*, iii., at the beginning. The treaty with Bologna was concluded at Perugia on October 29, 1392. The yearly tax was 5000 florins. Ferrara paid 10,000; Fermo and Ascoli only 2000 florins.

[3] Sugenheim, *Gesch. der Enstehung und Ausbild. des Kirchenstaats*, p. 309.

even found himself recognised once more as territorial ruler in the State of the Church, which no pope had done for a length of time. In a few years, by intelligence and energy, he regained the most influential towns, Perugia, Spoleto, Todi, Viterbo, Ancona, Bologna, to all of which he more or less secured their autonomy.

Soon after the jubilee the general feeling in Rome became hostile towards the Pope; for the conservators and banderesi still maintained the freedom of the republic. No senator is anywhere to be found during this year. Disputes between the Curia and the conservators, who wished to render the papal court subject to their forum, produced causes of dissension. On September 11, 1391, Boniface consequently concluded a treaty with the Roman commune, by which the latter promised to recognise the immunity of the clergy, not to burthen the Curia with taxes, to restore the walls of the city and bridges, to contribute to the recovery of the Tuscan estates of the Church, and to exhort all Roman barons to join an offensive and defensive league with the Pope and the city.[1] On March 5, 1392, he made a further treaty with Rome for the purpose of carrying on the war against the enemy in the Patrimony. Both parties pledged themselves to equip a certain number of horsemen

Treaty between the Pope and the city of Rome, Sept. 11, 1391.

[1] Doc. in Theiner, iii. n. 16. The formula of appeal, *ad honor. Rom. Urbis et fel. Soc. P. et Ba. Urbis*, shows the permanent power of this guild of archers. The treaty was concluded between a deputation of five cardinals, the three conservators, the two banderenses and their four councillors.

in order to fight the City Prefect, John Sciarra, Galassus, and the bastard John of Vico. The Pope emphatically declared that all the territories which these tyrants had seized, with the exception of Viterbo, Orchio, and Civita Vecchia, should belong to the Roman people.[1] The Romans, who were speedily undeceived, readily lent their militia to fight against John Sciarra, who had seized Viterbo in 1391, and against the French companies in the pay of the anti-pope. They thus strengthened the Pope, who well knew how to make use of their services. But they rose in 1392; weapon in hand, they forced their way into the Vatican, and, before the very eyes of the Pope, dragged from the palace the canons of S. Peter's, who had refused to sell the property of the basilica, which the Romans had demanded for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the war. Boniface, insecure in the city, consequently seized the opportunity offered him by Perugia to leave Rome and then to force the city to recall him under favourable conditions.

Perugia, torn asunder by the factions of the Beccarini and Raspanti, invited the Pope to appease the disturbances by his presence. The city offered him the full signory, and he went thither in October

[1] Theiner, iii. n. 18. The compact was concluded by four cardinals, the three conservators, the banderenses and their councillors, the thirteen *Capita Regionum*. In February 1392 *Johes de Cinthiis* was Senator. In the same year *Donato Acciajoli*, nephew of the celebrated Grand-seneschal *Niccolò*. Vitale, p. 349. Hopf, *Gesch. Griechenl.* (Tirage à part from the Ersch and Gruber's *Allg. Encykl.*, vii. 3).

Boniface IX. in Perugia, Oct. 1392.

1392.[1] He remained a year, successfully occupied in recovering the Marches. Ancona, Camerino and Jesi, Fabriano and Matelica yielded submission. Even the Prefect of the city, sorely harassed by the Roman militia, sued for peace, and the already repentant Romans ceded the dominion of Viterbo to the papal legate.[2] Meanwhile, in the summer of 1393, Boniface left Perugia, where a revolution had broken out, and Biordo de Michelotti had set up as tyrant, and went to Assisi. Roman envoys here urgently invited him to return, for the people dreaded that he might establish his seat in Umbria —a fear that the Pope had already foreseen. He declared himself ready to return, but under conditions which he sent to Rome. Their tenor was as follows: the Pope should henceforth elect the senator, or if not, the conservators invested with senatorial power should tender him the oath of fealty. The senator should be restricted in his office neither by the banderesi nor by any other magistrates. The Roman people were to undertake to keep open the roads to Narni and Rieti, and out of the taxes of the Ripa and Ripetta to maintain a galley for the protection of navigation.[3]

Fresh treaty between the Pope and Rome, Aug. 8, 1393.

[1] The city made submission to him on November 30. Document in Raynald, 1392, n. 6. According to a Spoletan chronicle of Zampolini, Boniface left Rome on October 1, and arrived at Spoleto on the 10th. In Sansi, *Docum. inediti*, i. 133.

[2] *Pontifex, Romanorum voluntate, Praefectus Viterbiensium factus est. Annal. Bonincontr.*, Mur., xxi. 65.

[3] *Cum augumento gabellar. Ripae et Ripettae ;* these river-harbours of Rome, which had borne these names long before 1393, are mentioned at this time. The security of the streets was an important

The clergy and the papal court were to be subject only to their legal forum, that is to say, the courtiers of spiritual condition to the jurisdiction of the Auditor Camerae; those of the secular to the marshal of the Pope; the Roman clergy to his vicar. Pope, cardinals and all were to be exempt from tribute and taxes. The magistrates were not on any pretext whatever to lay claim to the property of churches, hospitals, or pious institutions in Rome. Two good men were to be annually appointed as officers for the distribution of relief, one by the Pope, the other by the people.[1] One thousand well equipped horsemen were to be provided as escort for the return of Boniface IX., and 10,000 gold florins to defray the expenses of his journey. The Pope sent these articles from Assisi to Rome, where a council of one hundred citizens for each region and the general council assembled with the magistrates to discuss them. The parliament in presence of the Cardinal of Todi and the Abbot of S. Paul's concluded the treaty on the Capitol on August 8, 1393, accepting, and swearing to the conditions.

This memorable document remained in essentials the foundation for succeeding times of the political relations between the pope and the city of Rome.[2]

matter. In a document of Innocent VII. of August 25, 1406, Petrus Mathuci is appointed *defensor stratarum quarumlib. ad alm. Urbem* with powers of life and death. Theiner, iii. n. 92.

[1] *Super grascia*—hence *grascieri;* formerly *praefecti annonae.*

[2] The document, executed by all the magistrates (Conservators: *Oddo Cicchi D. Fulchi*, *Petrus Saba Juliani*, and *Petr. della Sassara*), was also signed by eleven *Capita Regionum;* the signatures of those of S. Eustachio and Ponte are absent. (137 consiliarii from all the 13

Boniface IX. returns to Rome at the end of 1393.

Boniface now returned at the end of 1393, and was received with honours. He did not at first irritate the people by the appointment of a new senator; at least no such appointment is mentioned in the acts of the time. Meanwhile the treaty just concluded appeared to the demagogues injurious to the rights of the people. The discontent broke forth as early as May of the following year, and was chiefly caused by the banderesi, whose power Boniface had set himself to destroy. His own life was threatened, and it was solely due to the intervention of the young King Ladislaus that the danger was averted. In the autumn of 1394 Ladislaus came with a large military force to Rome, where he released the Pope from his dangerous position.[1]

Ladislaus in Rome in the autumn of 1394.

Death of Clement VII., Sept. 16, 1394.

At the same time, Clement VII. died at Avignon on September 16, 1394. Boniface was thus released from an opponent who had incessantly disturbed Rome, while a long desired possibility of ending the schism presented itself. Since the chief necessity was now to prevent the election of a successor to Clement VII., the University of Paris hastened to prevent the cardinals at Avignon proceeding in the matter. But as early as September 26 the cardinals

regions were present.) The two missing were probably the Banderenses, who were elected from the captains of regions. Six *Imbussolatores*, officials who were placed over the *bussola* (boxes containing the names of the eligible candidates) were employed. The treaty is appended to the Constitution of 1404. Theiner, iii. n. 30.

[1] Specimen, *Histor. Sozomeni*, Mur., xvi. p. 1157: *et forsan eum interfecissent: nisi quia tunc erat Romae Rex Ladislaus*—S. Anton., iii. t. 22, c. 3, sect. 2.

elected from their midst the Spaniard Peter de Luna as Pope, and on October 3 seated their candidate as Benedict XIII. on the schismatic throne at Avignon. All attempts made by synods and universities, and even by kings, to quell the schism were frustrated by the irreconcilable claims of the two disputants. The world was already growing accustomed to two Churches and to two popes, with their so-called "obediences."

Benedict XIII., Pope at Avignon, Oct. 3, 1394.

Benedict XIII. at once strove to harass his Roman rival by enemies in the State of the Church. Two tyrants stood in arms in Umbria, Biordo de Michelotti of Perugia, who had made himself master of Assisi, and Malatesta de Malatestis of Rimini, who had subjugated Todi. Honoratus of Fundi remained the most dangerous enemy in Campania. He sent letters to the Romans, inciting them to renounce Boniface and recognise Benedict.[1] Some nobles, John and Nicholas Colonna and Paul Savelli, whose families had remained buried in unhistoric oblivion for nearly half a century, contemplated seizing the civic dominion. The people of Trastevere raised a revolt, which was, however, suppressed, and the region was punished by the loss of its civic rights. That Boniface was enabled to subdue repeated conspiracies was owing entirely to King Ladislaus. The great successes which this prince began to

[1] Letter of the Cardinal Galeazzo di Pietramala *ad cunctos Romanos cives* (Martene, *Veter. Mon.*, i. 1544) and of the Pope to Conrad, Archbishop of Nicosia, *Rom. ap. S. Petr. VI. Id. Apr. A. VII.*, Raynald, n. 3.

achieve over his opponents in the kingdom of Naples facilitated the subjugation of Rome and Campania to the Pope. In the spring of 1397 Honoratus himself made peace with him, and soon after the Colonna also sought absolution.[1]

The Pope, who had firmly resolved to overthrow the popular government in Rome and to break the power of the guilds, now that that of the nobility had long been broken, at length succeeded in his object by adroitly utilising a revolution which had been suppressed.[2] In 1398 the Roman people agreed to the abolition of the Banderesi and to the appointment of a senator; the prospect of the gains of the approaching jubilee of 1400 also played no small part in the complaisance of the Romans, whose avarice frequently proved

Boniface IX. becomes master of Rome, 1398.

[1] Peace with Honoratus was concluded at Terracina on March 10. Raynald, *ad A.* 1399, n. 16. The Colonna made submission on June 17.

[2] One of the last acts of the hitherto existing city magistrates, the Conservators (*Lellus Petrucii, Paulus Stephani Mei et Joh. Nelloli*), the Banderesi, and four *Consiliarii* of January 4, 1396, is noteworthy, since in it are mentioned the places subject to Rome: *Terra Maleani*, the *Civitates Yterampne* and *Amelie*, and the following fifty-one *Castra: Montis Boni, Rocchecte, Aspre, Rocce de Catino, Turrii et Silicis, Cisignani, Flayanelli, Utricoli, Ponticellorum, Montis Leonis, Montis Albani, Podii montis albani, Montis gentilis, Numentane, Montis Celloram, Vicovari, S. Poli, Scarpe, Porcellorum, Civitelle, Licence, Rocce Juvenis, Canis Mortuorum, Petre bone, Petre, Petre Sancte, Montorii, Rigi Frigidi, Laci, Montis Aglani, Robiani, Belmonte, Arsoli, Robianelli, Bordelle, Cantalupi, Anticoni, Collis Piccholi, Poste, Nerule, Podii Curresis, Montis Libritonum, Montis Nigri, S. Angeli pauli de Ursinis, Sambuci, Saracineschi, Lungnani, Potelani, Fogle, Gavignani.* (Printed by G. Coletti in the *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, vii., 1884, p. 543.)

traitor to their liberty. After the senatorial office had remained unfilled for several years, the Pope appointed Angelus de Alaleonibus of Monte S. Maria in Giorgio as his vice-senator. But a great part of the people were seriously irritated. In concert with the Count of Fundi a scheme was formed for the restoration of the government of the banderesi. The leaders of the conspiracy were Peter Sabba Juliani, Peter Cenci and Natolo Buci Natoli, all three former conservators. The revolution was to break out in August, and Count Honoratus was to attack the gate of S. Giovanni during the revolt. But the vigilance of the vice-senator frustrated the design, and the heads of the conspirators fell beneath the axe of the executioner on the steps of the Capitol.[1] In the midst of the

[1] Infessura says (*ad A.* 1400) that the Pope became master of Rome owing to *Natale* and *Petruccio Sacco* (read *Sabbe*, conservator in 1397): they had advised him to fortify the castle and were beheaded in reward. The Pope himself (Bull of excommunication of May 2, 1399, Rayn., n. 16) speaks of August 1398 as the date of the conspiracy: Honoratus had first conspired with *Petruccio Sabbae Juliani* and *Pietro Cencii*, then with *Natolus Buttii* in the same month. He speaks, however, of Natolus as having been already executed on March 6, 1398, when he commanded the *vigna Cazano*, which belonged to Natolus, to be annexed to S. Angelo for the strengthening of the fortress: *ex conspir. per ips. Natolum—pertractata —per Angelum de Alaleonibus—Senatus Al. Urbis locumtenentem, capitaliter condempnatum, ultimoque affectum supplicio . . . dat. Rom. ap. S. Petr. II. Non. Marcii Pont. n. A. IX.* (Theiner, iii. n. 44.) The contradiction can only be resolved if *A. IX.* is a mistake for *A. X.* The same vice-Senator ratifies the Statute of the Merchants as late as March 4, 1399. The date of the revolution, August 1398, is also given by Graziani, *Cron. di Perugia*, p. 272: *Del mese di Agosto fu fatto el Papa signore di Roma, et esso mise el Senatore.*

horrors of this execution Boniface IX. became actually master of Rome. The rule of the banderesi was now for ever abolished; the dominion of the guilds disappeared, the societies of the archers and shield-bearers lost the political power which they had preserved for nearly fifty years, and the earlier system of administering Rome by a foreign senator appointed every half year by three conservators of the civic chamber was restored under the strengthened authority of the Pope. Freedom took leave of the Capitol.

Downfall of the Roman republic in the summer of 1398.

The revolution which Boniface had accomplished in the summer of 1398 forms an epoch in the civic history of Rome. From it we may trace the downfall of the republican independence of the Romans, who, after long efforts to form a permanent political state, renounced the task in despair. After the military nobles had been overthrown by Cola di Rienzo, the power of the citizens was also shattered, owing to their lack of internal cohesion. In 1398, for the first time, Rome recognised the full dominium of a pope.[1] On July 11, 1398, Boniface IX. had appointed Malatesta Galeotti de Malatestis of Rimini Senator for six months.[2] The

[1] George Stella, *Annal. Gen.*, p. 1176, writes under 1399 (which should not mislead us as to the date): *Et hoc etiam anno S. P. Bonif. in merum fuit constitutus Dominum urbis R., cuj. prius idiotae artifices dominium obtinebant.* Laurentius Valla called Boniface IX. the first tyrant of Rome. *Parum ante me natum per inauditum genus fraudis Roma papale accepit imperium, seu tyrannidem potius, cum diu libera fuisset. Is fuit Bonif. IX., octavo in fraude et nomine par. De falso credita—Constantini donatione*, in Schardius, p. 778.

[2] He is the same who issued the Statutes of the *Gabelle di Roma*

Romans at first opposed the appointment, but after the events in August no longer showed any resistance. The Pope at the same time made Galeotti Captain-General of the Church, hoping by his means to repress all further attempts at revolt. Henceforward, until the death of Boniface, an uninterrupted series of foreign senators governed the subjugated republic.[1]

Malatesta de Malatestis, Senator, 1398.

In order to safeguard his power, Boniface IX. caused the ruinous fortress of S. Angelo to be restored and provided with a tower. The Vatican palace was likewise converted into a stronghold, after the model of the papal fortress at Avignon; the Palace of the Senators on the Capitol, which had been destroyed in the fire under Cola di Rienzo, was rebuilt and fortified, in spite of the murmurs of the Romans, who complained that their communal palace was converted into a papal citadel. This structure was merely built of bricks, and was

S. Angelo is restored.

on September 29, 1398. See edition of these Statutes by Sig. Malatesta, Rome, 1886.

[1] Letter of the Pope, *Malateste de Malatestis Domicello, dat. Rome ap. S. Petr. V. Id. Julii a. IX.* He was succeeded by *Angelus de Alaleonibus* again; then by *Zaccarias Trevisano* of Venice (who ratified the Statute of the Merchants, July 2, 1399); then followed *Benuttinus de Cymis* of Cingoli (*idem* March 27, 1400); then the Neapolitan *Bartolom. Carafa*, Prior of the Knights of S. John in the city (who ratified the Statute on July 1, 1400). His appointment on April 28, 1400, is given in Theiner, iii. n. 56. (The tomb of de Cymis is in Aracoeli; that of Carafa in the priory on the Aventine. He died April 25, 1405.) Then A. 1401: *Pier Francesco de' Brancaleoni* of Castel Durante; *Antonio Avuti*, Count of Monteverde. A. 1402, once more *Brancaleone*. A. 1403: *Riccardo d'Agello* of Salerno. A. 1404: *Giacomo*, Count of *Monte dolce*, and *Bente di Bentivoliis* of Bologna, Count of S. George.

so rude that at a later time Flavius Blondus, ashamed of its aspect, lamented that this once magnificent Capitol no longer presented anything worth seeing beyond the church of the Franciscans in Aracoeli.[1] Boniface also tried to restore ruined Ostia, in order to protect the entrance to the Tiber against Provençal and Catalan corsairs. He consequently removed the city of Ostia from the jurisdiction of the cardinal-bishop and placed it under the papal authority. The mouth of the Tiber again served as a station for some galleys, and again, for the first time after a long interval, a papal fleet makes its appearance. The Pope appointed Gaspar Cossa of Ischia as its admiral. His energy thus showed itself great and royal. But are ships of war, armies, and fortresses the objects which should form the care, and on which should repose the fame, of a high priest of religion?[2]

[1] *Pudet pigetque Capitolii deformitatem referre—praeter latericiam domum a Bonifacio IX. ruinis super aedificatam, qualem mediocris olim fastidisset Romanis civis, usibus senatoris et causidicor. deputatam. Roma instaur.*, i. c. 73. Blondus wrote this book some years before 1450 and before Nicholas V. restored the Capitol.

[2] The appointment of this admiral on August 20, 1398, is given in Theiner, iii. n. 47: *Bonif. . . . dil. fil. nob. viro Caspari Cosse domicello Isclanensi, gencium in mari ad nostra et Rom. Curie stipendia navigancium pro nobis et E. ipsa Capitaneo gen.*—On January 25, 1399, Boniface bestowed Portus on Tantia, widow of *Anibal Francisci Pauli de Stephanescis*, and her sons Petrus and Laurentius: *Castrum Portus cum fortalitio seu Rocca Trajana, porta, piscaria*, &c., to the sixth generation, *sub annuo censu unius apri*, to be delivered to the Bishop of Portus at Christmas. Coppi, *Dissertat. dell' Acad. Pont.*, xv. 302. In August the Stefaneschi ceded their rights over the sea-shore of Portus to the fish-dealer Lorenzo Tozzoli of S. Angelo for seventy gold florins. *Ibid.*, 303.

2. Jubilee of the City, 1400—Companies of Flagellants—War against the Prefect of the City—The Nephews of the Pope—Ladislaus conquers Naples—End of Honoratus of Fundi—Boniface IX., Lord of the State of the Church—Attempts of the Colonna on Rome; their subjection—Viterbo makes Submission—Attempts to end the Schism—Inactivity of King Wenceslaus—Gian Galeazzo, first Duke of Milan—Wenceslaus is Deposed—Rupert, King of the Romans, 1401—His inglorious appearance in Italy—Death of Gian Galeazzo—Bologna and Perugia return to the Church—Death of Boniface IX., 1404.

The transition from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century could not be celebrated either in Rome or in the world, rent asunder as it was by the schism, as a festival worthy of mankind. Boniface IX., taking his place on the jubilee loggia of the eighth pope of the name, in order to invoke the blessing of heaven on the faithful, only called forth the curse of a second pope. In spite of the speedy repetition of the indulgence, many pilgrims came to Rome even from France. The companies of Flagellants also reappeared to call mankind, which was sunk in hatred and quarrels, to repentance. These companies first arose in Provence. Five thousand in number, they came to Genoa. Men and women, young and old, clad in white cowls, a red cross on their heads, they marched in twos and twos, preceded by

The companies of Flagellants. The Bianchi.

Sep. 6, 1399.

choristers chanting hymns.[1] They were called the Whites (Bianchi). Twenty-five thousand Flagellants came from Modena to Bologna, where the population, donning the white habit, proceeded to Imola and encamped upon the field, and the bishop celebrated mass. The phenomenon was soon repeated throughout the whole of Italy. Thirty thousand Bianchi produced a movement of fanaticism even in Rome. False prophets announced the approaching end of the world; false miracles deceived the crowds, and scandals of every kind were practised. The deluge having subsided, left pestilence as its dregs behind. The Pope prohibited the companies of the Whites.[2] But the masked confraternities which walk in procession through the cities of Italy to the present day still exist to remind us of these institutions of the Middle Ages.

The condition of Rome at this period offers but a barren subject to the historian. The sight of Boniface IX. in the fortified Vatican, where, surrounded by lances like a secular prince, he led an anxious existence, amid storm and distress of every kind, carries us back to far remote times. He valiantly fought and conquered his enemies, but these enemies were only insignificant rebels, and his victories were not worthy of the Papacy. Its great historic ideal of culture lay piteously shattered.

[1] *Sunt duo, qui incipiunt eorumdem rhythmorum cantilenam, videl. Stabat mater.* George Stella, *Annal. Genuen.*, p. 1170.

[2] Concerning the impostors, see Niem, *de Schism.*, ii. c. 26 . . . *cruces latericias subtiliter per infusum sanguinem in conspectu pop. exprimentes—et finxerunt unum ipsor. esse Heliam prophetam, et de paradiso rediisse, mundumque in brevi terremotu perire debere.* Both Pope and Senator criticised the miracles. Vitale, p. 356.

It was now necessary to crush the Count of Fundi, who still held Campania and the Maritima in his power. On May 2, 1399, the Pope pronounced him under the ban and preached a crusade against him.[1] His right hand was his energetic brother, Andrew Tomacelli, who now took the place that Francesco Prignano had held under Urban VI.[2] For some time past relations had again surrounded the popes, who invested them more or less with the temporal power in the State of the Church. The nepotism of Boniface IX. was as unbridled as that of his predecessors. He had made Andrew Margrave of Ancona, his other brother John rector of the Patrimony, the duchy of Spoleto and the Sabina, and had transferred to him the fief of Sora, with which King Ladislaus had paid for his recognition on the throne.[3] Andrew now combined the troops of Cardinal Lewis Fieschi, the rector of Campania,

Nepotism of Boniface IX.

[1] The vigorous bull reflects the spirit of the Pope. Raynald, n. 14.

[2] His fate was tragic. In the castle of Raymond Orsini, weary of life, he thrust a dagger several times into his breast without succeeding in killing himself. He sold Altamura to Raymond, and sailed with his mother and children for Venice, and with them was drowned near Brindisi. Niem, ii. c. 31.

[3] Bull, Rome, January 22, 1398, Fumi, *Cod. dipl. di Orvieto*, p. 597. With Sora, Frederick II. had once paid Innocent III. for his recognition. On April 13, Boniface bestowed Narni and Orta on Andrew Tomacelli (*Cod. Vat.*, 6952; Galletti, *Mscr. Vatican.*, 7931, p. 78). His wife is buried in Aracoeli: *Hic jacet corpus magnif. et pot. mulieris D. Jacobe de Vico de Prefectis Marchionissae Marchie Anconitanae, qd. Uxoris m. et pot. viri D. Andree Tomacelli militis Marchionis Marchie Anconitane. Quae obiit A.D. MCCCLXXXXVIII. Ind. VI. Die XV. M. Octobris.*

into a company of mercenaries, so that Anagni made submission as early as May.[1] Soon after, Ladislaus' triumphant entry into Naples (on July 9, 1399) made the young prince ruler of this kingdom and drove his Angevin opponent back to Provence. This victory rendered Boniface IX. more secure in Rome and weakened his enemies. The Count of Fundi in despair sought for peace, and died in April 1400, robbed of almost all his property. Honoratus was prominent in the house of Gaetani for his force of character; and the schism, of which he was the chief protector and most obstinate promoter, gave him political importance.[2]

Fall and death of Honoratus of Fundi, 1400.

On October 20, 1399, John of Vico was also forced to an armistice. The City Prefect had attained a most curious position in the fourteenth century. The office, hereditary in the house of Vico, had become an empty title, since the bearer no longer dwelt in the city whence he derived it, but on the contrary remained excluded from Rome as an enemy. He was now himself a territorial lord of such influence in the Patrimony of S. Peter, that the

[1] The document of this treaty in Theiner, iii. 51, *dat. Rom. ap. S. Petr. IV. Non. Maj. A. X.* The Pope could not give the dominium of Anagni to any baron. *Item quod Judei civitatis Anagnine gaudeant privilegiis et dignitatib. dicte civitatis, sicut alii cives.* . . .

[2] His only daughter Jacobella, widow of Baldassar of Brunswick, who was blinded by order of Charles of Durazzo, surrendered to Ladislaus on May 25. The capitulation dated: *In campo nro felici prope Fundos per man. nri predicti—regis Ladislay—A.D.* 1400, *die XXV. Maii. VIII. Ind. Regnor. nr. A. XIV.* (Gaetani Archives.) She surrendered to him *Ynola, Aquaviva et Spelunca,* but retained Fundi and other places.

Roman republic and the Pope made war and formed treaties with him.[1]

War between the Pope and the Colonna.

The longest resistance was made by the Colonna, John and Nicholas, sons of Stefanello, who had continued the celebrated line of Palestrina and of Sanzia Gaetani. As relations of the Count of Fundi, and as old Ghibellines, they obstinately held to the anti-pope. The malcontents in the city joined them. A plan was formed to overthrow the dominion of the Pope and to restore the ancient aristocratic constitution. With a body of troops Nicholas Colonna forced an entrance through the Porta del Popolo on January 15, 1400, and shouting: "The people! The people! Death to the tyrant Boniface!" advanced to the Capitol, where he attacked the fortress of the senators; the Pope fled to S. Angelo. But the Senator Zaccaria Trevisano of Venice made a valiant resistance in the Capitol; the populace did not rise to the cry of the barons, their ancient oppressors; and the Colonna, deceived in his hopes, escaped after heavy losses to Palestrina. A trial for high treason was instituted. The Pope caused thirty-one prisoners to be beheaded.[2] On May 14 he placed the Colonna under the ban. In his lengthy bull of excommunication, Boniface IX. recalled the fact that it was the same family that Boniface VIII. had wished to extirpate a century earlier on account

[1] Treaty with *Joh. Sciarra de Vico A. urbis Pref.* in presence of the three conservators and the papal chamberlain Conrad, Archbishop of Nicosia, Theiner, iii. n. 54.

[2] Sozomenus, p. 1169; Niem, ii. c. 27. In order to obtain his pardon, a youth hanged his father and brother. The Pope gave the Senator a pension of 500 florins (February 1, 1400, Rayn., n. 2).

of its crimes. He now found himself in a similar position to his predecessor, and he was not to be the last pope to wage war on this celebrated house.[1] Praeneste, Zagarolo, Castrum Novum, Gallese, Penna, Pozzaglia, S. Gregorio, Gallicano, and all other estates of the Colonna were laid under the interdict, and the crusade was preached against them. The Roman militia, 2000 horse of the Pope, and auxiliaries of King Ladislaus, were combined under Theobald Anibaldi, a leader skilled in war, whose ancient house issues from obscurity during this war on the Campagna.[2] Several fortresses were destroyed, but strong Palestrina held out until the winter. The Colonna then made peace with the Pope under singularly favourable conditions, for they not only retained their cities, but also acquired the vicariate over others. The deed of peace shows that Boniface was insecure in the signory of the ecclesiastical State, but was a shrewd man. He had perhaps been instructed by the example of Boniface VIII.[3]

The fortresses of the Colonna destroyed.

The Colonna make submission, January 17, 1401.

[1] Bull in Theiner, iii. 57. When sentence *in contum.* was delivered, the citation was affixed to the doors of S. Peter and the papal palace: on the appointed day the officials of the Curia summoned the persons cited or their procurator at these doors; did no one answer, condemnation was pronounced.

[2] The Pope appointed *Theobaldus de Hannibal. domicell. Roman.* on May 22, 1400, as *Capitan. R. Populi extra muros alme Urbis* (Theiner, iii. n. 58). Extract from the bull of Crusade of May 24, 1400, in Petrini, *Mon.*, 38. The Anibaldi at this time possessed *Castrum Cavarum* near Palestrina. On January 22, 1401, this was sold by *Jacob. Nicolai Riccardi de Anibalibus* and his sister Catherine, widow of *Joh. de Columpna*, son of Agapitus, to Jacopo Orsini, Count of Tagliacozzo. Colonna Archives, Scaf. xiv. n. 289.

[3] Act, Vatican, January 17, 1401; in presence of the Pope, two cardinals, the Senator Caraffa, Carlo Malatesta, rector of the

Viterbo also made submission in the same year. Party warfare had produced such violent revolutions that John Tomacelli, rector of the Patrimony, succeeded in restoring the supremacy of the Church. The sovereignty of Viterbo was entrusted to forty nobles, but this oligarchy was restricted by the addition of guild rectors.[1] After Boniface had gained the Orsini by treaty and had become reconciled to the Gaetani, he ruled over Rome "like a strict emperor." [2]

Boniface IX. master in Rome and the provinces.

The schism alone he could not master. The Christian world with increasing urgency demanded a Council; kings, bishops, and provincial synods urged both popes to abdicate for the good of the Church. In consequence of a meeting with Wenceslaus in Rheims (in April 1398), the King

Romagna, the three conservators, the thirteen captains of regions. Of the Colonna, John, procurator of his brother, was present. They received the vicariate of Gallese and Portus Arzelii (near Civita Castellana); the annual rent was a live stag and two pheasants. Both sides were bound to pay a fine in case of breach of faith. Hence we see the relations that existed between the Pope and the provincial barons. Theiner, iii. n. 59.

[1] Document, November 18, 1401 (n. 60), executed *in sala magna Herculea palacii residencie Dnor. Prior. dicte civit. Viterbii.* The city calls itself *floridissima* and *totius provincie caput.*

[2] *Romanis—tanquam rigidus Imp. dominabatur. Multos eor. sibi suspectos de infidelitate per justitiarios suos fecit occidi.* Gobelin, vi. c. 84. Treaty with the Orsini, John, Poncellus, and Gentilis, July 28 and August 1, 1402 (Theiner, iii. n. 62). Several treaties of the kind were concluded with the barons, who received the right to keep troops for their defence. Thus on April 18, 1400, with Nicol. and Bellus, lords of Ceccano and Juliano. (Colonna Archives, Scaf. xvii. n. 97); first document of these archives on paper, in a barbarous mixture of Latin and the *lingua volgare.*

of France had abjured Benedict XIII., and in order to be released from the siege, in which the troops of the king held him, Benedict promised to abdicate if his rival would do likewise. But neither of the two popes was seriously prepared to renounce the tiara. The relations of Boniface IX. and his own egoism prevented him from fulfilling his duty as a Christian. Had he been a true priest he would have thrown away the papal crown without paying any heed to the action of his rival; he would then have seen the grateful world at his feet and the anti-pope in dishonourable solitude. But Boniface was incapable of a lofty resolution. Public opinion in Europe had not attained such power that it could force these two popes to appear before its tribunal. At another period the Roman emperor, as head of Christendom, had quelled its divisions. But the vicious drunkard Wenceslaus of Bohemia, who bore the title of King of the Romans, was not the man to appease the schism. Urban VI. had already besought him and the princes of the empire to undertake the journey to Rome. Boniface IX. had done the same. Wenceslaus had promised to come for his coronation in 1390, and had sent his envoys to Rome for the purpose. But nothing had been effected. Vain were the entreaties which Boniface addressed to him and to the princes of the empire, when in November 1396 Genoa surrendered to Charles VI. of France, and the French consequently attained a secure foothold in Italy.[1]

[1] Bull of Boniface IX. to Rupert, Rome, October 1, 1403, refers to these requests, addressed to Wenceslaus. Theiner, iii. n. 68.

Wenceslaus, it is true, had had that interview with Charles at Rheims, when the two kings had agreed to compel the popes of their obediences to abdicate, but strangely enough this resolution was to be one of the causes of Wenceslaus' own abdication. Several motives contributed to work this result, among them the elevation of Gian Galeazzo. The husband of Isabella of France had already succeeded his father Galeazzo in the dominion over Pavia and the half of Milan in 1378; in 1385 he had treacherously murdered his uncle Bernabò and thus had set up as sole ruler. He had married his only daughter Valentina to Lewis of Valois. This magnificent and wicked man aimed at the possession of the Romagna and Tuscany, and only the Florentines, who were able to confront his general, Jacopo del Verme, with the genius of their condottiere, Hawkwood, and who were indefatigably active in forming alliances against him, frustrated his designs. When (May 11, 1395) Gian Galeazzo bought the title of "duke" from King Wenceslaus for 100,000 gold florins, he regarded the title as the next step to the sovereignty of Italy.[1]

Gian Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, May 11, 1395.

Wenceslaus, however, was deposed by the Rhenish electors with the co-operation of the Pope on August 20, 1400, mainly on the ground of his incapacity and barbarism, and because he had done nothing to appease the schism; finally, because he had reduced the empire by the cession of Milan.[2] Amid furious party struggles, Rupert, the chivalrous Count

Wenceslaus deposed, Aug. 20, 1400.

[1] The diploma in Leibnitz, *Cod. Juris Gent.*, i. 257.

[2] See the decree of deposition, Urstisius, p. 180.

King Rupert, Jan. 6, 1401.

Palatine, was elected King of the Romans on August 21, and was crowned at Cologne on January 6, 1401. Thus was reflected in the empire the schism in the Church.[1] The Florentines at once urgently invited the new King to Italy, to check the arrogance of the Visconti.[2] For Gian Galeazzo had already become master of Pisa and Siena, had acquired the signory of Perugia in January 1400, had overpowered Assisi, Spoleto, and other cities, and had also threatened to subdue Lucca and the whole of Tuscany.[3] Boniface joined his entreaties to those of Florence, to induce Rupert to undertake the journey. He came to Trent in October 1401; he announced his coronation progress to Milan, and the powerful Visconti jeered at him. His enterprise was unsuccessful. Having reached the Lake of Garda on October 21, he returned to Trent, went again to Padua, in December to Venice, and thence soon returned ingloriously to Germany.[4]

[1] Concerning these events, John Aschbach, *Gesch. Kaiser Sigismunds*, i., c. 7. Aschbach condemns as unjust the grounds of the deposition.

[2] On July 4, 1401, Rupert appoints the priors of Florence as imperial vicars—*dat. Magoncie die IV. m. Julii A.D.* 1401. *Regni vero nri A. I. Ego Rabanus Ep. Spirensis, Regalis aule Cancellar. vice rever. in Xo. Patris Johis Archiep. Maguntin.—recognovi.* Archiv. Flor., atti pubblici.

[3] Deed of transference of Siena to Galeazzo, Pavia, November 18, 1399. Rousset, *Suppl.*, iii. 294. That of Pisa, March 31, 1400, p. 299.

[4] Not until October 1, 1403, did the Pope ratify him as King of the Romans. Foregoing bull. Of the princes of the empire, who deposed Wenceslaus, he says: *cum ejus depositio ad nos dumtaxat spectaret*,

Scarcely was Gian Galeazzo rid of Rupert, when he turned with all his strength against Bologna. John Bentivoglio, at this time signor of the city, was defeated in a battle by Alberigo da Barbiano (Visconti's general) and soon lost his life in an insurrection, when Gian Galeazzo was proclaimed Signor of Bologna (July 10, 1402). The power of the first Duke of Milan had now reached its zenith. But while his general laid siege to Florence, death put an end to his ambition; he died in the castle of Marignano, only fifty-five years old, on September 3, 1402. He was buried with royal pomp in Milan, where stands as his lasting memorial the most beautiful monument ever reared by the Visconti—the cathedral, which he began. With Gian Galeazzo set the fortune and greatness of this famous house.

Gian Galeazzo, lord of Bologna, July 10, 1402.

Dies Sept. 3, 1402.

Florence and the Pope breathed freely; they entered into alliance with Rome on October 19.[1] Alberigo abandoned the sons of the dead duke, Gian Maria and Filippo Maria, and took service with the Pope, who sent Balthasar Cossa as legate to the Romagna.[2] The army of the league appeared

ad ipsius Wentzelai deposicionem seu amocionem a prefato regno Romanor. auctoritate nra suffulti concorditer processerunt. The Corneto Archives contain a diploma of Rupert for *Laurentiis de Cacarociis de Corneto Preceptor S. Petri de Iterane Ordinis S. Joh. Hieros.*, who was appointed Lateran Count Palatine. *Dat. in castro nro Heidelberg m. Junii die VIII. A. V.* (Manuscript of Count Falzacappa).

[1] Archiv. Flor., Commune di Firenze con Roma, n. 109.

[2] Bull of appointment, *dat. Rom. ap. S. Petr. XIV. Kal. Febr. a. XIV.*, in Raynald, A. 1403, n. 9.

before Bologna under Nicholas of Este, and a peace, concluded with Milan on August 25, 1403, was the result of the energy of the Pope. Cossa made his entry into Bologna in the name of the Church on September 2, and Perugia also soon surrendered. Thus Boniface IX. was favoured by fortune in all his secular undertakings. He died quietly in the Vatican, master of the entire State of the Church, in October 1404 — a man of handsome presence, tall and strong, devoid of culture, but a born ruler.[1] Avarice tormented him even on his death-bed.[2] And so entirely had the priestly idea expired in his time, that the praise of magnanimity which was awarded him, was bestowed solely because he had restored the secular authority of the popes.[3] The Church itself was plunged by him into infinite disorder. His own and his relatives' rapacity, the confirmations and annates, the shameless sale of indulgences, and a hundred other abuses, swelled continually the tale of disorders which brought about the Reformation, and diminished the authority of the Pope.[4]

Death of Boniface IX., Oct. 1404.

[1] *Indoctus fuit, pulcher, et magnus corpore, robustus, benignus, precibus alior. faciliter condescendens. Annal. Forliv.*, Mur., xxii. p. 104.

[2] *Cuidam interroganti ab eo in ultimo constituto, qualiter se haberet aut sentiret? respondens ait, si pecunias haberem, bene starem.* Niem, ii. c. 11.

[3] *Vita Bonif. IX.*, Mur., iii. ii. 832.

[4] *Auctoritas et reverentia Papalis ex factis ejus (Bonif.) plurimum viluit apud omnes—clerusque quotidie magis et magis eisdem laicis vergit in contemptum.* The venality of everything in Rome is described by an eye-witness, Ada de Usk, *Chron.* 1377–1404, ed. Edw. Maunde Thompson, London, 1876, pp. 75, 76. *Unde quisquis*

3. TUMULTS IN ROME—QUARREL BETWEEN THE COLONNA AND ORSINI—INNOCENT VII., POPE, 1404—THE ROMANS DEMAND HIS RENUNCIATION OF THE TEMPORAL POWER — LADISLAUS COMES TO ROME—THE CONSTITUTION OF OCTOBER 1404—LADISLAUS RETURNS TO NAPLES — THE ROMANS EXERCISE PRESSURE ON THE POPE — HE APPOINTS FIVE ROMANS AS CARDINALS—MURDER OF THE POPULAR DEPUTIES BY LUDOVICO MIGLIORATI—THE CURIA IS BANISHED TO VITERBO — ANARCHY IN ROME—THE NEAPOLITANS ENTER THE VATICAN — THE PEOPLE MAKE WAR ON THEM—THEY ARE EXPELLED BY PAUL ORSINI — INNOCENT VII. RETURNS TO ROME, 1406—MAKES PEACE WITH LADISLAUS—HIS DEATH, 1406.

No sooner was the powerful hand of Boniface IX. cold in death than the city rose to recover her freedom. The ancient parties, Guelfs and Ghibellines, Colonna and Orsini, again raised their heads; the remainder of the noble families strove to compass the fall of the democracy. The city was soon filled with barricades. The Senator Bente de Bentivoglio and a brother of the dead pope held the Capitol, of which the people under the conduct of Jordan, John and Nicholas Colonna and of Baptist Savelli desired the surrender. Their adversaries were headed by the Orsini. Fighting took place in the streets;

pecuniosus et inanis gloriae cupidus ad sui promocionis effectum pecunias suas in mercatorum habuerit banco. Gobelin, vi. c. 87. The terrible illness of the Pope: *calculi infirmitate—in membro virili putrescit: et sic quamvis torsionibus intolerabilibus cotidie quatitur, tamen aurum sitire non desivit.*

Fighting in Rome between the Colonna and Orsini.

Francesco Orsini, who was hastening to the relief of the Capitol, was defeated by the Colonna near the Palazzo Rossi, and Ladislaus was called on to support the popular cause.[1] In the midst of this party strife the cardinals met in conclave. There were nine in Rome, three absent.[2] They all previously signed a document in which each pledged himself that in case of his election he would put an end to the schism, and, were it necessary, would even abdicate. Fear of Ladislaus, who was approaching, induced the cardinals to elect Cosimo dei Migliorati as Pope on October 17, the fifth day of the conclave. He was the third Neapolitan since Gregory XI. who had ascended the sacred chair. For during the schism the popes found their only support in the kingdom of Naples, and this fact explains the reason why so many popes were taken from this part of the country. Cosimo belonged to a middle class family of Sulmona; he was a doctor of civil and canon law, Archbishop of Ravenna, Bishop of Bologna, had been Cardinal of S. Croce since 1389, and was a man sixty-five years of age, experienced in all manner of business, and of peace-loving disposition.

Innocent VII., Pope, 1404–1406.

Innocent VII. began his reign under difficult conditions. The city was closed to him. He owned nothing beyond the Vatican and S. Angelo, which

[1] Niem, ii. c. 34; Infessura, p. 1116; *Diar. Gentilis Delphini*, Mur., iii. ii. 844.

[2] The number of nine is established by the letter of Coluccio Salutato to the newly elected Pope. *Epist. C. Salut.*, ed. Rigacci, i. 1.

was commanded by Antoniello Tomacelli, while the Senator still held the besieged Capitol for the Church. The people refused homage to the new Pope unless he renounced the *dominium temporale*, and Ladislaus marched with a military force against Rome. He entered the Porta S. Giovanni on October 19. The people received him with rejoicings. He was conducted under a purple baldacchino to the Lateran, whence, on October 21, he proceeded with a magnificent cortège across Ponte Molle and through the gate of the fortress to the Vatican, to salute the Pope and to offer his services.

Ladislaus enters Rome, Oct. 19, 1404.

He at once adroitly turned his favourable position to account. Fortune and talent had made him the restorer of his dynasty and had given him the influence wielded by the first Angevin. He aimed at great things; a splendid future lay before him, since circumstances made him at the same time protector of Rome and of the Church. He shrewdly stepped between the two parties, not in order to establish any lasting conditions, but to remain necessary to both. He prepared the way for his signory in the city, secretly stirring up the Romans and publicly before the Pope affecting a desire to achieve a reconciliation.[1] After some negotiations between Innocent and the people, the King dictated a treaty which was to form the basis of their relations. It was resolved that the senator was to be elected by

[1] *Ipse vero mentem erexit ad urbem Romanam capiendam.* Leonard. Aretin. (Mur., xix. p. 291), copied by Sozomenus. The famous man appears for the first time in Rome, for whose history he, like Niem, becomes an important authority.

the Pope; on the other hand, the people were to appoint seven governors of the civic camera every two months, who were to swear the oath of fealty to the Pope. Besides these, the Pope or Ladislaus was to elect three other officials to the same office; to these ten the administration of the finances was entrusted without any other jurisdiction. All the magistrates were to have as syndics two judges, of whom one was chosen by the Pope, the other by those officials. The Curia and the inhabitants of the Leonina were to be exempt from the civic tribunal; the Pope and cardinals exempt from taxes; of the salt, which belonged to the city, the Pope was to receive 1000 bushels; no baron was to place himself at the service of the people with more than five lances; the custody of all bridges and gates, with the exception of Ponte Molle and the Leonina, was to belong to the Romans; an amnesty was to be issued; no one was to receive envoys of the anti-pope; the Romans were not to advance any claim on Sutri or Civita-Castellana; the King was to act as arbitrator in this controversy; the city was to provide for the safety of all streets within her territory; the people were to issue no new laws on their own authority; the Pope was to reserve the appointment of a judge of appeal with the title of Captain of the Roman people in cases of appeal; the Capitol was to be reduced to the form of a communal palace and public hall of justice; the King was to decide whether the Ten were to reside there or not; for the fulfilment of the treaty twenty citizens from every region of the city were to pledge themselves with their goods and

October treaty between the Pope and the city of Rome.

chattels; all Trastevere was to protect it, in that it was to come to the aid of whichever side suffered by the breach of faith of the other.[1]

The convention was agreed to in the Vatican on October 27, 1404, and was subsequently ratified by the popular parliament. The same day the chamberlain of the Pope resigned the Capitol to the Count of Troja, a general of the King, who immediately restored it to the Roman people. This treaty consequently gave back to the Romans the freedom they had lost under Boniface IX. The Ten entered on office, and governors again sat on the Capitol as the seven reformatores had sat in the time of Cola.[2] As for the Pope, he appointed no new senator, but Bente de Bentivoglio remained in office.[3]

Rule of the Ten.

[1] Deed executed *ap. S. Petr. in pal. ap., in Capella parva prope Cam. paramenti*, before Pope, King, seven cardinals, other witnesses, among whom were the Counts of Anguillara, Berthold, Franc., Nicol. Orsini; *sub A.* 1404, *Ind. XII. die XI. assumptionis—D. Innoc. P. VII.—et XXVII. m. Octobris.* Raynald, n. 16; Theiner, iii. n. 71. The copy in Vitale bears the signatures of the seven governors, and the words *act. Romae in Pal. Capitolii A.* 1405, *Pont. Innoc. P. VII. m. Maji die V.*, when, therefore, the ratification of parliament was first obtained.

[2] The first ten (*Gubernatores Cam. Alme Urbis*) are mentioned in the document as elected by the Pope for the first time, among them a Cenci, Tadei, Tedallini, Nardus an apothecary, a Mancini, Tartarus.

[3] Again Senator on January 11, 1405: Reaffidation of the brothers Jordan, Oddo (afterwards Martin V.), Rentius Colonna, lords of Genazzano, Cavae, Pisciano, S. Vito, and Capranica for all that was incurred in the late war. Jordan is praised *quod dum nos ad recuperandam dulciss. libert. pungnabamus, ad quam incl. Rom. Pop. nuper exstitit div. permictente clem. restitutus, tu cum—subditis et vaxallis tuis—cum ipso Pop. personaliter extitisti, et multa—egregia opera—eid. Pop. prebuisti.* Thus spoke a public act of the Capitol in the

Ladislaus had already been well repaid for his services by the sorely harassed Pope, the King having been made rector of the Campagna and Maritima for five years—a great concession, by which the keys of Rome were given into his hands.[1] He remained several days in the Vatican. On November 4, to afford a royal pageant, he made a solemn entry by the Porta del Popolo, and passed along the Via Lata, through the Colonna quarter and by the street called "Torre di Conti" to the Lateran. The people shouted acclamations as to a Caesar. Arrived at the house of Galeotto Normanni, he gave this noble the accolade of knighthood, and Galeotto henceforward called himself "Cavalier of Freedom."[2] Ladislaus then returned to Naples on November 5. He had attained his desires, that is to say, permanent

Ladislaus' triumphal procession through Rome.

face of the Pope. The document begins: *Bente de Bentivoglis mil. Bonon. comes S. Georgii Alm. Urb. Sen. Ill., Lellus Alexii Gualterus Dni (Thadei) jud. leg. doctor, Petr. Bactaglierius de Thedallinis, Dioteajuti Stephanasii Petr. Mancinus, Petr. de Tartaris, Nardus Speciarius, Johes de Burgariis, Johes de Gnafri et Catangna Gubernatores libertatis Reip. Romanor . . . Sub A.D.* 1405, *Pont. D. Innoc. P. VII. Ind. XIII. m. Jan., die XI. A. ejus primo. Johes Butii Varj prothonotar. Petruspaulus Martini Cyncii notar. dcor. dnor. Gubernator.* The seals are wanting. Colonna Archives, Scaf. xvii. n. 104. In the treaty with Innocent, all the same governors appear, with the same names.

[1] The Count of Troja became rector in his place; for the Pope writes to him under this title on December 21, 1404. Theiner, iii. n. 72. The Campagna and the Maritima remained under Neapolitan administration for thirteen years, until the time of Martin V. Contatore, *Hist. di Terracina*, p. 104. Note to the Privilegium of King Ladislaus for Terracina, Naples, A. 1405, March 7.

[2] *Diar. Gentilis Delphini*, p. 844; *Diar. Roman. Antonii Petri*, Mur., xxiv. 973; Niem, ii. c. 35.

influence in Rome. Innocent VII., moreover, had been obliged to bind himself not to conclude the union of the Church until Ladislaus was universally recognised as King of Naples, a condition that revealed the weakness of the Pope and rendered difficult the great work of peace.[1] Not until after the departure of the King was Innocent crowned in S. Peter's (November 11), whereupon he went to take possession of the Lateran.

The freedom which they had recovered once more excited the passions of the Romans. They no longer adhered to the constitution. By excluding the three chosen by the Pope, the Ten transformed themselves into Septemvirs, assumed the title of governors of the freedom of the Roman republic, and ruled despotically, as did formerly the reformatores or "banderesi." They obtained ever greater concessions from the Pope, whose weakness encouraged their importunity. Innocent himself remained restricted to the Leonine city, where he was only protected by the arms of his condottiere Mustarda, under whom stood Ludovico Migliorati, nephew of the Pope. Neapolitan troops were stationed in the Campagna, whence they held communications with Rome. On March 15, 1405, under John and Nicholas Colonna, the Romans themselves marched against Molara, the fortress of the Anibaldi in the Latin Mountains. The Pope despatched the Prior of the Knights of S. John from S. Maria on the Aventine after them as mediator, and peace was

Dissensions between Rome and the Pope.

[1] The Pope's decree in favour of the King, of November 11, 1404, in Raynald, n. 14.

made with the Anibaldi. But on the return of the army on March 25, the Septemvirs ordered the prior to be seized and beheaded on the Capitol without trial. This arbitrary act roused Innocent's anger. He threatened to make his residence at Viterbo, and his threat took effect, for on May 10 the Seven, under their head Lawrence de Macharanis, clad in penitential garments and carrying burning tapers in their hands, presented themselves before the Pope, who pardoned them.[1] A reconciliation was apparently effected. On the 15th the governors ratified the treaty of October; but they signed the document as the seven rulers of the freedom of the Roman republic, whence it is evident that Innocent must have sanctioned this change in the constitution. Meanwhile the report circulated that the Pope had summoned to his defence Paul Orsini, an already well-known condottiere, who stood in his service at Bologna. The people requested that this captain should not come to Rome during the harvest season, and Innocent agreed to the demand.[2] Ever since his accession he had been tormented by the Romans with petitions of every kind; every one demanded the purple or some honour or benefice for a relation. In order to satisfy the claimants, Innocent made five Roman cardinals on June 12, namely, Jordan Orsini, Antonio Calvi, Antonio de Archionibus, Pietro

[1] *Diar. Rom. Antonii Petri*, p. 975. The names of the seven governors are contained in their ratification of the treaty of October. Vitale, p. 616.

[2] He writes consenting to the request on June 7, 1404, *dilectis fil. Gubernatorib. Camere ac Populo Alme Urbis;* he consequently does not give them the usurped title. Theiner, iii. n. 76.

Stefaneschi Anibaldi, and Oddo Colonna.[1] Meanwhile the discontent still prevailed; the position of the Pope was intolerable.

Two distinguished men, both historians of this period, who were at the time secretaries in the papal service, Dietrich of Niem and Leonardo Bruno of Arezzo, have vividly described the contemporary conditions of Rome. Both express the opinion—an opinion undoubtedly influenced by their official position—that the Romans abused their recovered freedom, and overstepped the limits of the treaty which had been laid down by Ladislaus. Of the nobles, says Aretino, the Colonna and Savelli, ancient Ghibellines, were now all powerful; the Orsini, on the contrary, were of little account, and were suspected as adherents of the Pope. The Curia was complete in numbers and rich; the cardinals were many and of great dignity; the Pope in the Vatican was yielding and mild, and sighed for peace; but Rome was in perpetual uproar, and the King's intrigues fostered the disturbances. Ladislaus, anxious to obtain the signory of the city, bribed several burghers, members of the Cavallerotti, who were consequently despised by the populace and called "Pensionarii." The unfortunate Pope was incessantly assailed with requests. "Have I not given you enough?" said Innocent one day. "Do you also wish to tear this mantle from me?"[2]

[1] Cardella, ii. 320. Of these, Oddo Colonna afterwards became celebrated as Martin V. Among the remaining newly-elected cardinals were also two other future popes, Angelo Correr (Gregory XII.) and Pietro Filargo (Alexander V.).

[2] Leon. Aretinus, *Commentar.*, Mur., xix. 922. Sozomenus

One of the grounds of the quarrel was the occupation of Ponte Molle, which according to treaty belonged to the Pope. Papal soldiers were stationed near it, to bar the passage to the Vatican from this side; while S. Angelo closed all access from the city. The Romans demanded the surrender of the bridge, on the pretext that they feared the approach of King Ladislaus.[1] On August 2 they attacked it at night and were repulsed. Blustering, they proceeded to the Capitol; the alarm bells were rung; the insurgents attacked S. Angelo, but the papal garrison resisted, and barricades were erected.[2] Negotiations were held the following day. The Pope agreed to the Milvian Bridge being broken in the middle, and consequently rendered impassable. Soon after, on August 6, fourteen respected deputies of the people went to the Vatican; they used arrogant and violent language; they blamed the Pope for doing nothing to quell the schism. The negotiations proved unavailing. The deputies mounted their horses in order to return to the city, but were attacked at S. Spirito by the Pope's nephew. This passionate man was roused by the incessant persecution of his uncle and beside himself with the desire for revenge. He seized eleven of the envoys, dragged them into the hospital of S. Spirito, heaped insults upon them, struck them down one

Murder of the deputies of the populace by the Pope's nephew, 1405.

copies from Leonardo, adding something of his own. Niem, ii. c. 36.

[1] S, Antonin., iii. Tit. 22, c. sect. 1.

[2] Vividly described by Leon. Aretinus, Letter to Colucius Salutatus, *Rom. II. non. Aug.* 1405 (*Leonardi Bruni Aretin. Epistolar.*, i. 6, ed. Mehus, Flor., 1741).

after another, and threw their dead bodies from the window to the street. Among the victims were two governors of the Roman republic, several captains of regions; some were of moderate views, and all were held in high esteem by the people.[1] The outrage committed by the nephew of the Pope throws a gruesome light on the barbarous savagery of the Rome of this period. Not for a long space of time have the annals of the city revealed any like atrocity.

When the news spread that the envoys of the people had been murdered by the Pope's nephew, when the corpses of the victims were seen lying in the street, the whole of Rome rose with indescribable cries of indignation. All members of the Curia in the city were maltreated and imprisoned; the palaces of the cardinals were set on fire; the storm bells were sounded. The Pope, innocent of the outrage, felt the responsibility fall upon his head, and

[1] Infessura, p. 1117, mentions them by name; the Pope, he says, had sent them to his nephew, to conclude the treaty with him. Hence arose the report that the deed took place with his consent, as Platina asserts that it did. L. Aretino (p. 923, and Ep. i. 5) saw the corpses on the further side of the bridge, which he crossed in disguise. *Jacebant enim media in via sanguine foedati, et magnis vulnerib. confossi.* Sozomenus, Bonincontr., and Antonino draw from this source. Niem, ii. c. 36; *Diar. Gentilis*, p. 844. The *Diar. Anton. Petri*, p. 975, precisely gives the *platea S. Spiritus prope Amulam, ubi ostendebatur S. Veronica* as the place of the attack. *Nicola della Tuccia* of Viterbo (*Mscr.*) says: *a uno a uno gli tagliava la testa con una accettella.—Omnes manu mactavit propria, et per fenestras projecit.* (*Vita Innoc. VII.*, Mur., iii. ii. 833). See also "Relazione di Saba Giaffri Notajo di Trastevere," published by Ignazio Giorgi in the *Archiv. della società Romana di Storia Patria*, vol. v. 165 f.

was paralysed with horror.[1] S. Angelo and the troops in the Borgo could alone save him from immediate ruin. He was uncertain what to do; his courtiers trembled. True, the fortress could resist the people, but Antonio Tomacelli, its commandant, was doubtful. True, the Borgo could hold out for a time, but the Leonine walls had fallen in places, provisions were scanty, and at any moment the Neapolitans or Colonna might appear before Rome. Flight was counselled. On the evening of August 6 the Pope set forth with his guilty nephew, his court and his cardinals. The flight resembled a hasty retreat after a lost battle; first came the horsemen, then the baggage, then the Pope and the priests; other horsemen brought up the rear. The fugitives rested at Cesano, then proceeded to Sutri, the Romans following on their heels, frantic with rage. Anxiety, heat, and over-exertion caused the death of thirty of the papal retinue, who were left lying by the way. One of the courtiers was cut down before the Pope's eyes, and the Abbot of S. Pietro of Perugia was murdered. After untold hardship the dethroned Pope and his followers reached the shelter of Viterbo.[2]

The Pope escapes to Viterbo, Aug. 6.

Scarcely had Innocent gone when the people burst into the Vatican. The papal archives were pillaged; many documents were destroyed.[3] The

[1] Aretino exonerates him: *vir--mitis, a cujus lenitate nihil magis abhorrebat quam—sanguinis effusio.*

[2] The flight is vividly described by Niem. The *Vicus Cesanus* (which was not, as Aretino says, 12, but 20 miles from Rome), formerly *Massa Caesarea*, is now a little place near Campagnano.

[3] *Multos libror. papalium—deportaverunt, et literas bullatas et aliqua registra sublicationum et literar. papalium laniarunt et de*

arms of the Pope were effaced in the city. His dethronement was spoken of, and John Colonna, who was now master in the Vatican, was called in jest John XXIII. The Colonna meanwhile hastened to summon the King of Naples, on whom a party in the city wished to bestow the signory. On August 20 the Count of Troja with Gentile de Monterano and two governors entered the Borgo at the head of 3000 cavalry. The treacherous scheme of the nobles was opposed by the patriotism of the citizens, who longed for liberty, not the despotism of a foreign king. The count was driven from the Bridge of S. Angelo back to the Borgo, and encountered a spirited resistance.[1] Barricades closed the entrance to the city, and although the fortress had declared for Ladislaus and directed its artillery against the city, the burghers held their own with praiseworthy courage. They besieged the governors (who sided with Naples) in the Capitol, which surrendered on August 23. The people tore down the fortifications which had been erected and installed three "good men" as regents. Several prelates were released from prison. The fact shows that the people were persuaded of the innocence of the Pope. The feeling turned in his favour; envoys of the people went to Viterbo and demanded aid against Ladislaus and the barons.

Anarchy and civil war in Rome.

thesaureria Papali ultra L vol. libror. exportaverunt (which, however, afterwards came back). Niem, ii. c. 36.

[1] He caused the merchants' stalls on the bridge to be destroyed (*combustis—quibusdam casellis mercatorum in eodem ponte consistentibus*). Niem, ii. c. 37. Stalls stood on the Bridge of S. Angelo, as they do on the Ponte Vecchio at Florence.

Paul Orsini occupies the Vatican.

On August 26 Paul Orsini and Mustarda came with papal troops. Their arrival decided the fate of the city. While the Count of Troja withdrew to the Campagna, John Colonna vainly endeavoured to defend the Borgo. He was driven back to the Field of Nero, and Paul Orsini entered the Vatican in the name of the Pope.[1] It was thus Ladislaus' ambitious designs that unexpectedly restored the dominion in Rome to Innocent VII. Two Roman cardinals, Oddo Colonna and Peter Stefaneschi, now repaid the Pope by the most zealous services for their elevation to the purple; they acted as mediators of peace. The Romans declared themselves ready to receive Innocent. On October 30 he appointed as Senator Gian Francesco de Panciaticis of Pistoja, who ascended the Capitol on November 11.[2] In January 1406 parliament resolved to bestow the dominion on the Pope. His vicar was conducted to the Capitol with shouts of joy. Nineteen burghers brought the keys of the city to Innocent at Viterbo, and the Pope confessed with astonishment that so great an act of compliance on the part of the Romans was unexampled in the history of the popes. "Never," said he, "have I striven for temporal things; I am ready, however, to assume

The Romans make submission to the Pope.

[1] John Colonna was defeated *nella Armaccia.* Thus writes the *Diar. Gentil.*, p. 845: the ancient *Almachia*, that is to say *Naumachia*, the name of which, therefore, still survived.

[2] His appointment *dat. Viterbii III. Kal. Nov. A. I.* (Rayn., n. 10, A. 1405). Another letter of the Pope to him, Viterbo, October 30, 1405, in Theiner, iii. n. 78. The date of his taking office is given in *Anton. Petri Diar.*, p. 976. He ratifies the Statute of the Merchants on May 27, 1406.

the burthen of sovereignty, a papal right, but now a voluntary and honourable gift of the Romans."[1]

The change of circumstances was indeed astounding. An infamous crime and its just punishment, the banishment of the entire Curia, resulted in the restoration of the papal dominion over Rome in its widest extent. The Capitol and all the fortresses in the city and territory were surrendered to the papal vicar. On March 13 Innocent made his entry by the Porta Portese, since the other access to the Borgo was impassable, owing to S. Angelo remaining hostile. The Curia shivered at the thought of surrendering themselves into the hands of the Romans, who had been so deeply outraged. But the nephew, whose crime had caused the revolution, rode proudly beside his uncle into the Vatican. No judge had punished him; the Pope had merely imposed upon him a spiritual penance, and had afterwards made him Margrave of Ancona and Count of Fermo. And, as if nothing had happened, Ludovico Migliorati was as before an object of respect and fear. We search in vain through the history of all time for an example that depicts in equally glaring colours the depth of degradation to which human society can sink. Was

Innocent VII. returns to Rome, March 13, 1406.

[1] —*quamquam haec temporalia nullo modo affectabamur, in quib. nihil aliud est, quam labor, atque animi sollicitudo* (a true saying!) *tamen—non recusavimus hoc dominandi onus* (*alias quond. sic nob. debitum*), *ut nunc ab ipso Pop. sponte sua nobis oblatum—magnificum quippe—et valde memorabile visum est, quod. nunq. ante—auditum fuit, Pop. Rom. claves et dominium urbis extra ipsam Urbem ad aliquem miserit, eique sese sponte sua subjecerit.* Letter of January 21, 1403, to the people of Ancona. Vitale, p. 379.

a people capable of freedom and self-respect who received with honour a murderer whose clothes were scarcely dried from the blood of eleven of their envoys? Rome was already ripe for the age of the Borgias.

War with the Ghibelline barons.

The nephew, with Paul Orsini, now conducted the siege of S. Angelo. At the same time they made war on the Neapolitan troops in the adjacent territory, and Castel Giubileo and Castel Arcione near Tivoli were taken by assault.[1] Colonna, Savelli, Anibaldi, Poli, Jacopo Orsini, Conradin of Antioch, and almost all the provincial barons adhered to Ladislaus, from whom they expected restoration. They bravely defended themselves in their fortresses, untroubled by the ban of the Pope, who even deposed the mighty Ladislaus from the throne.[2] The King saw his crown in danger, and hastened to obtain reconciliation with the Pope. A truce was concluded at Torre di Mezza-Via on June 28.[3] Paul Orsini and Migliorati went to Naples

[1] In 1391 *Pietruccio Puccio Giubileo* of the region *Pigna* sold the *Castrum Jubilaei* to *Lello Maddalleno;* see Nibby, *Analisi.* Lellus was a merchant, whose gravestone may still be seen in the *Minerva.*

[2] Bulls against the Colonna and other barons, S. Peter, June 18, 1406 (Rayn., n. iii.); among them *Conradinus qd. Conradi de Antiochia.*

[3] This casale is 7 miles from Rome along the road to Albano. In 1400 it belonged to *Tuccius olim Salvi Coranzonis* near the Casale *Septem bassi* (*Arco Travertino*): *casalis et turris de Maesavia alias dicti lo Casale de Madona celena* . . . Coppi, *Dissert. Accad. Pont.*, xv. 303. Orsini's cavalry encamped near S. Paul's. On June 30 Anton. Petri found the church filled with horses (*Diar.*, p. 979).

and brought the treaty of peace back to Rome on August 6. Ladislaus now undertook the protection of the Church as its Defensor and Standard-bearer.[1] It is only with feelings of disgust that we can read the flattering titles which the Pope heaped upon a prince whom he had only just before cursed as a son of darkness. Was it possible that the keys still possessed religious power, when a solemn anathema could be transformed in the same breath into an equally solemn blessing? Was the sentence of the Pope dictated by the lofty morality of Christianity, or was it not sordid policy that blew this sentence to and fro like a banner in the wind?

Peace with Ladislaus, Aug. 1406.

As early as August 9 S. Angelo was surrendered to the Pope, and Innocent VII. could thus in peace call himself master of Rome. He made Pier Francesco de Brancaleone of Castel Durante Senator.[2] He rewarded the submissiveness of the Romans by the restoration of their decayed university. He died soon after on November 6, 1406. A man devoid of intellect, of conscience or energy, he was extolled by contemporaries as a lover of peace and as exempt

Death of Innocent VII., Nov. 6, 1406.

[1] Ratification of the peace, S. Peter, Aug. 13, 1406 (Theiner, iii. n. 89). The Roman nobles were called therein *principes et domini* (*principe* and *Don*), and were distinguished from the *domicelli*. Of the same date is the bull, which empowered Ladislaus to appoint rectors and castellans for Campania, Maritima, and Benevento. *Cod. Ottobon.*, n. 2548, fol. 29. The appointment of the King as *Defensor, Conservator, Vexillifer:* Rayn., n. 7.

[2] He entered on office on November 5 (*Diar. Antonii Petri*, p. 980). He appears on April 30, 1407, Nerini, *de Templo*, &c., p. 551. Before him I find mentioned as senators, but without any indication of the year, Petrus Paulus and Antonius de Ubertinis. *Cod. Ottobon.*, 2548.

from avarice. But they called him a hypocrite, who remained indifferent to the schism, and careless of his spiritual duty.[1]

[1] The praise which Niem awards him (*de Schism.*, ii. c. 39) is in contradiction with the earlier more severe judgment in the *Nemus Unionis Tract.*, written in 1408, vi. c. 39: *Innoc. VII. in quo virtutis et vitia militabant. Fuit enim magnus simulator, et blesus, et carnali affectione similiter ardens. Suos statim in divitiis temporalibus sublimavit.* He had not, it is said, exerted himself to procure the union of the Church. This censure is also expressed by Platina: *iniquo animo ferebat, si quis apud se ea de re verbum ullum fecisset.*

CHAPTER V.

1. GREGORY XII. — NEGOTIATIONS CONCERNING THE UNION — CORRUPTION OF THE CHURCH — THE CONGRESS AT SAVONA IS AGREED UPON—NICHOLAS OF CLEMANGE—HINDRANCES TO THE UNION—THE COLONNA ENTER ROME; ARE DRIVEN OUT BY PAUL ORSINI—HE BECOMES POWERFUL IN THE CITY—GREGORY XII. GOES TO SIENA—LADISLAUS ENTERS ROME, 1408—HE SUBJUGATES THE PROVINCES OF THE CHURCH AND GOVERNS AS RULER IN ROME.

THE death of a pope during the schism offered a favourable opportunity for the tranquillisation of strife, since, by refraining from holding any fresh election, one camp at least might have shown the world that it earnestly desired peace. The fourteen Roman cardinals were indeed doubtful whether or not they should give a successor to Innocent VII. But self-seeking and fear drove them into conclave on November 18, in order that the Roman Church should not be left without a visible head. They here signed a solemn declaration that if any among them was created pope, he should endeavour to effect a union and for its sake would renounce the tiara. They moreover explained that they only elected a new pope in order that he might act as "procurator" of the

union. The elected candidate was also to pledge himself not to appoint any new cardinal.

On November 30 the choice fell on the Cardinal of S. Marco, the Venetian Angelo Correr, who ascended the sacred chair on December 6, 1406. Gregory XII. in his first consistory declared that he would conscientiously abide by his oath. He assured his hearers, "that to speed the union" he "would hasten over sea and land; if by sea, even in a fishing boat, if by land, even with a pilgrim's staff." Thus spoke a man of eighty, whom the cardinals had probably only elected because, according to human belief, ambition is generally changed into abnegation in the neighbourhood of the grave. But they were deceived. A moment of trembling authority always seems so precious to old men wearing the purple that their wearied selfishness re-acquires the vigour of youth. Gregory XII. entrusted Lionardo Aretino with a letter to his rival, in which he invited him to a joint abdication, and the Spaniard, Peter de Luna, answered in a like spirit. Emissaries went to and fro to arrange a meeting. Christendom demanded a Council with ever increasing urgency, for the Church sank into deeper ruin with each succeeding year. Annates, tithes, reservations, indulgences, and dispensations had drained the West by a system of shameless robbery. The priestly office was everywhere sold; the prelates accumulated enormous sums without ever visiting their spiritual seats. Simon Magus was ruler of the Church and the apostolic camera resembled a Charybdis. The schism had enormously

Gregory XII., Pope, 1406–1409.

increased the evil. In every country noble-minded men fought against this terrible state of affairs and demanded a Council. About 1393 Nicholas of Clemange, rector of the Paris Academy and for many years secretary to the court of Avignon, wrote his treatise, *On the Ruin of the Church*, or concerning her corrupt state, in which he enumerated all the evils with which she was deformed, and traced these corruptions back to their source, the avarice of the pope and clergy with regard to temporal things. While he urged reform he gave utterance to the significant saying: "The Church must first be humiliated and then re-erected."[1] The Papacy had forfeited its moral elevation and position. It had vanished like the empire, and was severed into two divisions, each of which owed its crippled existence solely to the protection of powerful monarchs. The great Papacy of Hildebrand and Innocent sank to be an object of critical investigation throughout the world, for kings, parliaments and synods, the universities and public opinion rose as so many tribunals to subject to examination in the two contending popes the papal office itself, in the contending cardinals the rights of the sacred college. The decretals, the fundamental laws of the popes, were destroyed, and from this critical examination there reissued once more

Nicholas of Clemange.

Corruption of the Church and the Papacy.

[1] *Ecclesia prius humilianda, quam erigenda. Tractat. de corrupto Eccl. statu vel Ruina Ecclesiae*, c. 43. In von der Hardt's *Magnum Oecumen. Constantiense Consilium*, t. i. pars. iii. All ecclesiastical institutions were so corrupt at that time, that Clemange says of the convents for women: *ut idem hodie sit puellam velare, quod ad publice scorticandum exponere.*

powerful that Ghibelline or monarchical right, in virtue of which the highest secular authority, the emperor, received the faculty of judging and deposing a pope by a Council.[1]

Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII., constrained by the will of France, had concluded a treaty in Marseilles, by which they pledged themselves to hold a congress at Savona in September 1408. But both feigned a desire that they did not feel. Gregory, old and weak, was ruled by his nephews, with whom he spent his days in childish gluttony, and squandered the tithes which he extorted under pretext of the union.[2] Ladislaus, moreover, opposed the reconciliation; the King of Naples had everything to gain by the continuance of the schism; while its tranquillisation, and possibly a French pope, might deprive him not only of the protectorate over Rome, but also of his crown; for Lewis of Anjou, under the protection of his relation the King of France, still asserted his claim. As it now appeared that a congress to bring about the union would really be held, Ladislaus formed

Ladislaus prevents the union of the Church.

[1] Niem, enemy of the *Dom. Temp.*, well maintains the *imperialis potestas super malum et incorrigibil. Pont. Romanum.*, iii. c. 9, 10. Wenceslaus was exhorted by the universities to summon a Council. He was told: *et nonne Rom. Eccl. tenetur Imperatori tanq. suo patrono? Parisiensis, Oxoniensis, Pragensis et Romanae Universitatum Ep. de auct. Imperatoris in Schismate Papar. tollendo*, of the year 1380, to Urban and Wenceslaus. Goldast, *Mon.*, i. 229.

[2] *Vita*, Mur., iii. ii. 838: *cum qua* (*pecunia*) *splendide et opulenter cum magna familia sua, et nepotum comitiva in palatio vixit. Plus in Zucaro consumebat, quam sui praedecessores in victu et vestitu—solum spiritus cum ossibus et pelle*—a repulsive picture of childish old age.

the scheme of preventing it by seizing Rome by a master stroke. The Romans had recognised the supremacy of the new Pope, and had accepted at his hands John de Cymis from Cingoli as Senator. They were consequently unfriendly to Ladislaus, although several barons desired his arrival.

At the King's instigation the Colonna with Neapolitan troops forced an entrance into the city through the broken walls by the Porta S. Lorenzo, on the night of June 17, 1407.[1] Gregory XII. immediately fled to S. Angelo. His condottiere, Paul Orsini, however, arrived the following morning from Castel Valca, entered the Vatican, joined the Corrers, the nephews of the Pope, and hastened to meet the enemy at the gate of S. Lorenzo. John and Nicholas Colonna, Antonio Savelli, Jacopo Orsini, Conradin of Antioch fell into the hands of the victor. Rome lighted bonfires. The Colonna bought their release from the Orsini, but less privileged barons were beheaded on the Capitol, among them Galeotto Normanni, the "Knight of Liberty," Richard Sanguigni, and Conradin of Antioch, a descendant of the Hohenstaufens and the bearer of a name that was fatal to himself.[2]

Rome attacked by the Colonna, June 17, 1407.

[1] *Per murum fractum inter Portam della Donna, et Portam S. Laurentii extra muros. Diar. Anton. Petri*, p. 981. The *Porta della Donna* was the *Numentana.*

[2] Sozomenus. Anton. Petrus mentions *Corradinus de Columna* among the prisoners, while Infessura writes *Corradino di Giampolo* (from the name of his father). There was a Colonna of this name at the time; the *Diar. Gentilis Delphini*, however, expressly mentions *Corradinus de Antiochia* as among the proscribed. The *Casino della Valca* stands six miles outside Rome near Prima Porta.

Dietrich of Niem maintains that Gregory XII. was acquainted with the King's design, that he purposely fled to S. Angelo in order to make it appear that he was besieged there, and that his journey to the congress might thus be prevented.[1] If he actually cherished the hypocritical intention, it was frustrated by the attitude of the Romans and the independent will of Paul Orsini. Gregory had taken this brave man into his pay as captain of the State of the Church, and assigned him the revenues of the Romagna and other provinces.[2] In recompense for his services he had bestowed upon him the vicariate of Narni, but had no money wherewith to satisfy his claims. He was even forced to pawn his valuable papal crown to the Florentine bankers, a disgraceful transaction, which may, however, serve to illustrate the degradation of the Papacy of the age.[3] Paul Orsini terrified the helpless Gregory by his demands, still more by his increasing influence. The wealthy general, a member of the foremost Guelf family in Rome, was now a second Ricimer. This induced Gregory to leave the city. A pope fled before a condottiere. He appointed Cardinal Peter Anibaldi Stefaneschi of S. Angelo as his vicar-general, and on August 9, 1407, went with his Curia

Paul Orsini's power in Rome.

[1] Niem's opinion, that there was an understanding with the Pope (iii. c. 18), is contradicted by L. Aretinus: *nos de Pont. nullo modo credimus; de propinquis non dubitamus* (Ep. ii. n. 9).

[2] Agreement with Paul Orsini, May 12, 1407; Theiner, iii. n. 100.

[3] Brief, April 8, 1407, Theiner, iii. n. 95. The mitre was pawned to pay Paul Orsini a debt of 6000 florins. The Pope even sold books from the papal library; thus to the Cardinal Henry of Tusculum for 500 florins. *Ibid.*, n. 8.

to Viterbo, thence to repair to the congress at Savona, or so at least he announced.[1]

Gregory XII. goes to Viterbo, Aug. 9, 1407.

Gregory's departure took place contrary to the will of the Romans, who dreaded the tyranny of the powerful Orsini, or foresaw the inevitable confusion in which the ambition of Ladislaus must involve them. For the rest, Paul remained with some thousand men as chief captain of the Church and defender of the city, while the magistrates of the Capitol obeyed Cardinal Peter; the Senator John de Cymis had resigned his staff of office into the latter's hands, and the three conservators administered the Senate.

Gregory XII. with eight cardinals went from Viterbo to Siena in September, where he was met by the French envoys and those of the other pope. Savona now seemed to him unsafe; he requested that the congress might assemble at some other place, but in vain. Insincere negotiations were carried on by both sides, and Gregory's avaricious nephews attained their object—the prolongation of the schism.

While the Pope remained absent, and the State of the Church resembled a property without a master, the King of Naples attempted to make himself ruler of Rome. Here all was terror and confusion. On January 1 the cardinal-legate imposed a tax of 30,000 florins on the clergy of the city; they met in

[1] As vicar of the Pope, this cardinal, on November 15, 1407, conferred the privilege of renewing their statutes on the consuls of the *Ars Bobacteriorum*. Appendix to the *Statuta nob. artis Bobacter.* (ed. 1848).

the Convent della Rosa and resolved neither to pay anything nor to celebrate mass. The magistrates imprisoned several priests; the others yielded to force. Massive images of saints and vessels were melted down, for so the Pope commanded. Famine set in, processions were made, the handkerchief of S. Veronica was exhibited, but no bread was forthcoming. The increase of taxation irritated the people, robbery was rife in every street, a procession of 100 pilgrims was massacred by the soldiers of the Orsini. Many Romans now longed for Ladislaus, from whom they hoped for order and abundance.[1] The King with a powerful army was already in motion. In these circumstances the cardinal-legate held it fitting to restore the ancient power to the people. On April 11 he reinstated the banderesi, received from them the oath of fidelity in the Vatican, and gave them the banner. Amid the sound of trumpets, the popular magistrate then made his entry into the Capitol, on the steps of which he was respectfully greeted by the captains of the regions.[2] Thus was democratic rule restored in Rome for the last time; the people, however, soon enough recognised that it had become incapable of maintaining freedom.

Last rule of the banderesi, April 1408.

A few days after, the King appeared before Rome

[1] The state of Rome is described in a letter written by Niem to King Rupert on May 1. Goldast, *Monarchia*, ii. p. 1381.

[2] According to the *Diar. Ant. Petri*, p. 985, he made *noviter Banderesios propter guerram regis Vincislai, ac etiam carestiam panis— et receperant banderas consuetas tempore antiquo uti Dominorum Banderesiorum, videl. de novo factas, et adhuc non completas cum signo Pavesati et Balisteri.*

with a numerous force, while his galleys anchored at the mouth of the Tiber. Paul Battista di Giovio, a Roman captain, held the fortress of Ostia for the Church, but, being badly provisioned, it capitulated as early as April 18. On April 20 the King removed his camp to the neighbourhood of S. Paul's. With him were distinguished captains, the Count of Troja, the Count of Carrara, Gentile de Monterano, the two Colonnas, Battista Savelli and Migliorati. The last, banished from Ancona by Gregory XII., had taken Ascoli and Fermo and given them to Ladislaus, whose service he had entered immediately after. The King caused a bridge of boats to be placed across the Tiber. Paul Orsini remained in Rome with 1400 horse and with foot soldiers; the walls of the city had been strengthened by barricades; a successful defence was not impossible, since the Romans had frequently overcome much greater difficulties. But they were crippled by famine, disunion, and treachery, and the rapid conquest of Rome by Ladislaus shows that the civic republic had expired. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, none of the three principles through whose struggle with each other a great party life so long had been preserved, remained vigorous. Everything was in process of dissolution; the aristocracy as well as the middle class, the municipal spirit, the imperium, and the Papacy. Owing to the schism, Rome had even fallen into the humble position of a provincial city. She might consequently become the prey of the first successful conqueror, without her fall producing any perceptible change in the world. This want of self-

King Ladislaus before Rome, April 20, 1408.

reliance in itself explains her incapacity for resistance. Her defence, moreover, was entrusted to a general of condottieri, whose services were open to the highest bidder. Paul Orsini carried on negotiations with Ladislaus, who offered him gold and honours in return for the surrender of Rome. The Romans, learning of these negotiations, denounced Orsini as a traitor to his country, and themselves hastened to avert the ruin that threatened. Envoys of the people appeared in the royal camp, and on April 21 a treaty was concluded, by which all fortresses and the Capitol were made over to Ladislaus, and the popular government placed the authority in his hands. The banderesi immediately resigned; Janottus Torti, the Senator appointed by the King, ascended the Capitol, and Neapolitan troops entered the city.

Paul Orsini and the Romans offer him the city.

The kings of Naples—Normans, Swabians, the Angevins—all directed their ambitious gaze towards the fortress of the Capitol; the danger for the popes was consequently great, and in their secular history there is perhaps nothing more surprising than the fact that, from the beginning, they had been able to reduce the only monarchs in Italy into vassals of the Church. These Neapolitans occasionally rose to the honour of becoming senators of Rome, but none of them succeeded in grasping the sceptre of Caesar. Ladislaus, the conqueror of the city, was more powerful than any of his predecessors, and a great future seemed to open before him. In the monastery of S. Paul, where he made his abode, the young monarch arrayed himself for his magnificent entry, as his

ancestor, Charles of Anjou, had done in the same building.[1] He entered Rome on April 25. But as S. Angelo still adhered to the Pope, he made his way through Trastevere, riding under a baldacchino upheld by eight barons, accompanied by the Romans bearing palm-branches and torches. The pealing of bells and bonfires in the evening announced the saddest of all festivals, the fall of Rome under the authority of a king. He made his dwelling and remained at S. Crisogono. The same day Paul Orsini, now the servant of Naples, departed for Castel Valca; the gates and bridges of the city were surrendered, the latter being walled up by the King's command. He forthwith arbitrarily elected a fresh set of conservators, captains of regions, and other magistrates; the constitutional liberty of communal election had already been set aside by Gregory XII. and Cardinal Stefaneschi. The places also in the city territory, Velletri, Tivoli, Cori, and others, did homage to the King and received his castellans. Envoys from Florence, Siena, and Lucca appeared to congratulate him on his triumph over Rome and to form an alliance with him.[2] His troops entered the Patrimony and Umbria, where

Ladislaus enters Rome, April 25, 1408.

[1] As late as April 24, Ladislaus dated an edict *in monasterio S. Pauli extra urbem.* Fumi, *Cod. Dipl. di Orvieto*, p. 616.

[2] Florence sent Fil. Magalotti, Jac. Salviati, Lor. Ridolfi, and Bartol. Valori on May 28, 1408. Instructions: *andrete al seren. Re ladislao—collui sommamente vi ralegrarete della triumfale vittoria, la quale iddio et ancora la sua virtù gli anno conceduto nella città di Roma.* They were to conclude a league with him, excluding hostilities against France, the Emperor, and the Pope. Archives of Florence, Registr. Instruction, xiv. 55.

Perugia, Todi, Amelia, Orte, Rieti, Assisi immediately recognised him as signor. He thus annexed the provinces of the State of the Church to his Neapolitan kingdom.[1]

The monarchy of Italy and the imperial crown itself floated before his audacious brain. He had the motto, "*Aut Caesar aut nihil*," embroidered on his mantle. It is said that he coveted the title of King of the Romans, but that the people refused it, explaining that they had a Caesar already.[2] Their king was Rupert of the Palatinate, a prince who must have been ashamed of the conquest of Rome. But another German perhaps felt the disgrace more deeply than he. Dietrich of Niem, who had left the city before the entrance of the Neapolitans, addressed a letter of admonition to Rupert, in which he took upon himself the mission of Dante and Petrarch, and exhorted the indolent King of the Romans to remember the glory of the German emperors, to gird his loins with the sword and to restore the empire.[3]

[1] Infessura; Sozomenus; *Cron. di Lucca*, Mur., xviii. 889; *Annal. Estenses Jacobi di Delayto, ibid.*, p. 1047; *Annal. Bonincontr.*, Mur., xxi. 98; *Giornali Napitol., ibid.*, p. 1071. Chief sources: *Diar. Rom. Antonii Petri*, p. 985.—The *Porta Appia* was still called in the popular tongue *P. Acciae.*

[2] The belief that Ladislaus called himself *Rex Romae* in diplomas is wrong; instead of *Romae*, read *Ramae* (Dalmatia).

[3] *Veni, propera, accingere gladio—revoca memoriae hominum magnifica facta quorundam tuor. praedecessor. etiam nationis Alemanniae. —Sed ipse L. Rex nunc Tertius in ordine regum Romanor. insimul concurrentium seu tales se appellantium, non scriptis, sed factis se gloriatur. Tu dormis, et ille vigilat, quem ut fertur ipsi Romani jam Imp. Rom. appellant.* Letter of May 1, Goldast, *Mon.*, ii. 1381; a weak infusion of Dante and Petrarch's letters.

King Ladislaus lord of Rome.

The senator ruled the city for Ladislaus with iron severity; every attempt at revolt was punished with the axe. But no excess was committed. The magnificent person of the young King, whom the whole of Italy began to regard as the man of the future, won the people to his side, and the abundance of food which he provided, as also his strict justice, were the best supports of his power. Occupied with schemes for the conquest of central Italy, he remained in Rome until June 24, 1408. Before he left he ordered the foremost barons, among them the Colonna and Savelli, to remain at a distance from the city until his return. As guardians of the city, he appointed the Senator, his marshal, Christopher Gaetani, Count of Fundi, the conservators, and captains of regions. Leaving the Count of Troja with troops behind for a time, he returned to Naples.[1]

[1] In reward, Ladislaus gave Marino (formerly a possession of the Orsini) to Niccolò and John Colonna. Coppi, p. 153, without quoting his authority. This beautiful fief remained to the house of Colonna, Lorenzo and Giordano, brothers of Martin V., acquiring it for 12,000 gold florins in 1419.

2. Benedict XIII. and his Plan to seize Rome—Gregory XII. and Ladislaus—Intrigues of the two Popes to prevent the Union—Benedict XIII. abandoned by France; Gregory XII. deserted by his Cardinals—The Cardinals of both "Obediences" at Pisa—They convoke a Council — Baldassare Cossa at Bologna — Gregory XII. goes to Rimini—Ladislaus marches to Tuscany to prevent the Council—Resistance of the Florentines—The Council of Pisa, 1409 —Deposition of the Popes—Alexander V.—The three Popes — Enterprise of Lewis of Anjou and Cossa against Ladislaus — The Neapolitans defend Rome — Revolution in Rome—The City does Homage to Alexander V.

In other circumstances the conquest of the city by Ladislaus would have been an important event. Even Benedict XIII. had formed the audacious design of making himself master of Rome, and of seating himself as Roman pope on the throne which his rival left vacant. He consequently sent Genoese galleys to the mouth of the Tiber, but this fleet only left Genoa the same day that Ladislaus made his entry to Rome.[1] Gregory XII. was by no means dismayed by the usurpation of the King. If acquainted with the designs of his rival, he would undoubtedly have wished that Ladislaus rather than

[1] *Nam ipse Petrus e Luna cum subsidio gubernatoris Januae—nitens praecedente occulto tractatu sibi subjicere Romanam urbem—ad occupationem urbis* 25 *die m. aprilis cum copiosa — armata exivit.* Encyclical of Gregory XII., *dat. Lucae XII. Kal. Junii A. II.*, in Raynald, A. 1408, n. 5.

Peter de Luna should occupy Rome. When his legate appeared before him as a fugitive in Lucca, he received him without reproaches; on the contrary, with such proofs of recognition as to occasion the belief that the cardinal had acted according to the Pope's commands. It was said that with his sanction Paul Orsini had betrayed Rome and occupied the State of the Church; and, in truth, so little indignant was Gregory with Ladislaus, that he raised no protest, but still allowed his nuncio to remain with the King. The conquest of Rome and the Patrimonies afforded him and his nephews a pretext for preventing the work of union.[1]

The popes prevent the union.

The arts which the two popes employed, each for the purpose of stigmatising the other as the sole cause of the continuance of the schism, while they were only unanimous in preventing the union, presents an offensive spectacle of intriguing selfishness. The deluded world was tired of the sight, and at last tore the artful net in which the Church was entangled. After the failure of the proposed congress at Savona, the popes had made reciprocal advances; Benedict XIII. had come to Porto Venere, and Gregory XII. had gone from Siena to Lucca, where he had sought protection from Paul Guinigi, signor of this city. They exchanged embassies, proposals, and reproaches. What one wove the

[1] Niem, iii. c. 28, and *Nemus Unionis*, iv. c. 2. *Vita* of Gregory, Mur., iii. ii. 840, the writer of which represents him as a hypocrite. The Pope himself thus speaks of the surrender of Rome: *traditione urbis per dil. filios Romanos charissimo in Chr. filio L. Regi Siciliae ill. facta*—Encyclical above cited.

other destroyed. What one proposed the other overthrew. Never was a more shameless game played with the deepest needs of humanity. Gregory XII., entirely devoid of means, without mercenaries but such as the Corrers had collected, raised a cry over the galleys which stood at command of his rival. For the shrewd Benedict XIII. leaned on the power of Boucicault, the governor for the French king in Genoa; and Gregory, not without reason, complained that he could not go to the seaports which the congress had proposed, since these were unsafe. When Benedict now undertook the vain expedition with Genoese galleys against Rome, the enterprise offered his rival a welcome pretext for breaking off negotiations. The cardinals, the envoys of France, Venice, and the Florentines assailed him every day; a preaching friar in Lucca denounced him as a godless breaker of his word; the Pope ordered the bold orator to be imprisoned, and refused any longer to discuss the union.

Gregory XII. in Lucca.

Meanwhile Benedict XIII. lost his earlier support. In January 1408 the French king by edict commanded that, unless the schism were ended by Ascension Day, no obedience should be rendered to either pope. Benedict, on the other hand, issued a bull threatening excommunication, which provoked the French parliament and the University of Paris into declaring him deposed.[1] His adversary triumphed for a moment; forgetful of the oath by which he had promised to appoint no new cardinal,

[1] This bull is dated from Porto Venere, April 18. In Buläus, *Hist. Univers. Paris*, v. 152.

he made four.[1] This step excited the anger of his college of cardinals, whom he had already in suspicion surrounded with armed men and confined like prisoners. The Cardinal of Liége secretly left Lucca on May 11, and, vainly pursued by Paul Correr with cavalry, betook himself to Castel Libra Fracta in Pisan territory. Amid violent tumult he was followed by six other princes of the Church, who remembered the fate of the cardinals of Urban VI.[2] They all assembled at Pisa, where, in appealing to a Council, they adopted the only practical course that could save the Church. The shout of "Council" resounded instantaneously throughout the world, conditions had become ripe for it, and for the moment both rivals were disarmed. Benedict XIII., defenceless in Genoa as in Avignon, embarked at Porto Venere on June 17, and fled to his home at Perpignan, where he had summoned a Council for November 1. The unyielding Spaniard henceforward defied his fate with a spirit that in a nobler cause would have made him appear great. In his strength of will and astuteness, Peter de Luna was in fact an unlucky successor to Hildebrand and Alexander III., appointed to fill a wrong place and to live at a wrong time in the world's history, where his rare energy was uselessly thrown away.

Deserted by his cardinals.

The French cardinals had deserted Benedict XIII.

[1] Among them was Gabriel Condulmer of Venice, nephew of Gregory XII., afterwards Pope Eugenius IV.

[2] From Pisa, on May 14, they forthwith issued an encyclical which explained their flight. Raynald, n. 8; and n. 9, their explanation to Gregory XII.

The cardinals desert Benedict XIII.

Encouraged by the King of France and the opinion of the University of Paris, they had gone to Leghorn. Here for the first time the two hostile colleges saw and associated with each other, and henceforward formed the elements out of which sprang the Council. This they unanimously demanded, and appointed to meet at Pisa on March 25, 1409.[1] Gregory XII., seeing the danger before him, also convoked a Council, which was to meet at Whitsuntide the following year at a place yet to be determined in the province of Aquileja or Ravenna; and Christendom, which so long had vainly sighed for a Council, was now confronted with the prospect of not one but three. Gregory now wished to leave Lucca and return to Rome. He demanded that Ladislaus should send troops to escort him, but the suspicious Florentines raised an armed protest. He resolved to go to the Marches, where he could place himself under the protection of his adherent, Carlo Malatesta; but Baldassare Cossa seemed as though he would refuse him passage. From the time of Boniface IX., Cossa had remained as legate in Bologna, where he had constituted himself ruler. Faithlessly and by violence he had annexed a part of the Romagna; and while the State of the Church fell to pieces, he remained there an independent tyrant. Innocent VII. had not ventured to deprive this intriguing Neapolitan of the legation of Bologna, but had threatened to do so, and it was consequently said

The cardinals of both popes convoke a Council in Pisa.

[1] Encyclical *dat. in castro seu loco Liburni . . . XXIV. m. Junii I. Ind. A.* 1408. Raynald, n. 22, and the acts that relate to it in Martene, *Vet. Mon. Collect.*, vii. 789.

that the cardinal caused him to be poisoned by the Bishop of Fermo. As Gregory XII. now wavered, Cossa did everything to hasten his fall. The prospect of the papal crown stood before his ambitious gaze. He soon became the soul of all the negotiations that concerned the Council. He openly severed himself from Gregory, and formed an alliance with the Florentines against Ladislaus, who was still able to support the latter Pope, and was the only prince who would prevent the union. Gregory XII. had meanwhile gone from Lucca to Siena, with which Ladislaus was in alliance. He here excommunicated Cossa and the other princes of the Church who had deserted him, and created new cardinals. At the beginning of November he went to Malatesta at Rimini and held negotiations with Ladislaus.

Cardinal Cossa abjures Gregory XII.

July 14, 1408.

The King, threatened by the events which were shaping themselves at Pisa, was resolved to uphold Gregory. In his necessity the Pope—and the action was unprecedented in the annals of the Church—had ceded to him Rome, and even the entire State of the Church, for the trifling sum of 25,000 gold florins.[1] In consequence of this agreement Ladislaus set forth in March 1409 to march by Rome to Tuscany, and, if possible, to dissolve the Council. He came to the city on March 12. He remained sixteen days in the Vatican.[2] On March 28 he

Ladislaus again in Rome, March 1409.

[1] Sozomenus, p. 1193: *concessit dicto Regi Romam, et Marchiam, Bononiam, Faventiam, Forlivium, Perusium et omnes terras Ecclesiae cui Papa (ae?) numeravit XXV. milia florenorum.*

[2] On March 26, 1409, he issued an order to the Senator in favour

advanced with Paul Orsini to Tuscany, turned back, curiously enough, on account of bad weather, and on April 2 again marched out towards Viterbo.[1] He took Cortona, and proceeded to Arezzo and to the neighbourhood of Siena;[2] but the league of the Florentines and Siennese, which had been brought about by Cossa, set a limit to his progress and delivered the Council from every danger. Finally, the election of a new pope changed the condition of affairs.

The Council opened in Pisa, March 25, 1409.

The Council had been opened at Pisa on March 25, 1409.[3] This illustrious Ghibelline city had but now closed her once splendid career as a free republic. After a heroic resistance, which embellished her fall, she was not conquered by the swords of the Florentines, but for vile money was betrayed to her hereditary enemy by her Doge Giovanni Gambacorta. As Milan also lay powerless,

of the Sabine fortresses Tarano, Montisboni, Aspra, Rochetta, Furano, and Montasole, to which he gives immunity from *sal et focaticum. Dat. Rome sub parvo nro sigillo praedicto die XXVI. Marcii II. Ind.* Original in the Archives of Aspra. The Regesta of Ladislaus in the Archives of Naples (n. 370, A. 1409) note several decrees *Dat. Rome ap. S. Petrum* from March 16 to 27.

[1] *Annal. Bonincontr.*, p. 100; *Anton. Petr.*, p. 999. Here the gate, through which Ladislaus passed on his way out, is called *Porta delli Nibbi* (hawks). The name can be nothing but a popular term for one of the Leonine gates.

[2] On April 7, 1409, he dates *prope montem Flasconum.* Archives of Naples, Reg., n. 370, A. 1409. On April 23 *in castris nris in Insula prope Senas* a privilegium for Perugia, to which he promises to preserve all her possessions. Archives of Perugia, Credenza iii. C. Bolle *saec.* xv. Cassett., i. n. 11.

Its history has been written by Lenfant, *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, Amsterdam, 1724.

the Florentines took the foremost place in Italy next to the Venetians. Under their protection the prelates and envoys of kings, princes, and peoples, even plenipotentiaries of universities, and more than a hundred magistrates of both civil and canon law, assembled—a significant sign of the new power which learning, now become independent in Europe, had acquired. Rupert's ambassadors also appeared to defend the rights of Gregory XII., who was still recognised in the German empire. The Council of Pisa, summoned by cardinals without intervention of the Pope, forms an epoch in the history of the Church. From the canonical point of view it was an act of open rebellion against the Pope, and from the first it found itself involved in the most glaring inconsistencies. The twenty-three cardinals who convoked it had refused obedience to their pope, on one side to Gregory XII., on the other to Benedict XIII., and consequently they required that these popes should recognise them as their accusers and judges; they finally formed a college of judges, each side of which held the other as schismatic.[1] But Christendom, represented by deputies beside these cardinals,

[1] The Bishops of Riga, Werden, and Worms declared that the Council was unauthorised, since it had not asked for the assent of the King of the Romans. They asked the cardinals: *si dubitant de Papatu Gregorii, quare simili ratione non dubitant de suo cardinalatu?* The messengers presented their *dubia* on April 19, protested in the name of the King of the Romans, appealed to an Œcumenical Council, and left Pisa on the 21st. Raynald, n. xiii. *seq.* The annalist of the Church, like S. Antonino, pronounced the Council of Pisa uncanonical, and recognised Gregory XII. as lawful Pope until his abdication.

recognised a revolutionary decision, and for the first time all classes rose to form a tribunal, which cited the Papacy before it. The theory of the celebrated Gerson, that the Church was Church even without the pope, and that the pope was subject to the Council, obtained recognition at the Council of Pisa. This was the first real step towards the deliverance of the world from the papal hierarchy; it was already the Reformation.

It deposes both popes, June 5, 1409.

The synod constituted itself as a Christian Congress, as a legal and Œcumenical Council, which represented the visible Church. On the memorable day of June 5, 1409, it pronounced the sentence that Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII., as schismatics and heretics, were excommunicated and deprived of every spiritual office.[1] The Council proceeded to the election of a universal pope. Forced by the assembly, the cardinals pledged themselves that whichever of them issued from the conclave as pope was not to dissolve the Council until the reform of the Church had been carried through. Cossa, who perceived that his time had not yet come, may have preferred provisionally to be the master of a pontiff appointed to stop a gap; he proposed an old man of seventy, of blameless life and feeble will, and Alexander V. was proclaimed Pope on June 17.

The Pope created by the Council was neither a Frenchman nor an Italian, but with prudent discernment had been chosen from a nationality indifferent to all. Pietro Filargo was a native of the island of Candia, which belonged to the Venetians; himself

[1] XV. Session, Acts in Martene, *Vet. Mon. Coll.*, vii. 1095.

of obscure origin, he had no nephews. It was said that he had known neither father nor mother. As a beggar-boy he had been brought up on the island by Italian Minorites; then, having entered their order, he had travelled to Italy, England, and France, where he educated himself in science, like the English beggar who had risen to fame as Adrian IV.[1] As protégé of Galeazzo, who invited him to Lombardy, and for whom he carried on negotiations with Wenceslaus for the title of duke, Filargo became Bishop of Novara, Brescia, and Piacenza, Patriarch of Grado, Archbishop of Milan, and was made Cardinal of the Twelve Apostles by Innocent VII. On July 7, 1409, he took the papal crown, and thus, after more than seven centuries, a Greek again ascended the sacred chair, the last pope of this nationality having been John VII., in 705.

It elects Alexander V., July 7, 1409.

Meanwhile Benedict XIII. at Perpignan and Gregory XII. in Cividale had held synods, and each had protested against the Council of Pisa and its pope. Each by bulls demanded that Christendom should recognise himself as legitimate head of the Church, and each still found recognition—one in Aragon and Scotland, the other in Naples, Friuli, Hungary, and Bavaria and with the King of the Romans. Christendom had now three popes, each of whom claimed legality, and who excommunicated one another. Of Alexander's rivals the weakest was

[1] Before his death, Alexander V. himself must have made known the history of his life. His biography has been written by Marcus Renieri, Ἱστορικαὶ Μελέται, ὁ Ἕλλην πάπας Ἀλέξανδρος ε', Athens, 1881.

Benedict XIII., who was beyond reach and harmless in a fortress in distant Spain. Gregory XII., on the contrary, was under the protection of the most powerful monarch of Italy, to whose territory he soon repaired. The first task of the pope elected by the Council must consequently be that of crushing Gregory—a task which could only be accomplished by an expedition against Ladislaus himself.

Alexander V. excommunicated the King and set up a pretender; for already the youthful Lewis of Anjou had hastened to Pisa to assert his rights to Naples, and already had united with Florence, Siena, and the cardinal-legate in a league against Ladislaus.[1] The King was immediately forced to quit Tuscany, where he left Paul Orsini behind with troops; the allied army then set forth, led by Malatesta de Malatestis, under whom served Sforza of Attendolo and Braccio da Montone, captains with whose names Italy soon resounded. With them were Cossa himself and Anjou. The defection of the Orsini to their side opened the roads into the State of the Church, so that all the country to the gates of Rome did homage to Alexander V.[2]

The allied army appeared before the city on October 1. Here the Count of Troja and the Colonna lay in strong positions, while Janottus Torti held the Capitol, and S. Angelo under Vittuccio Vitelleschi remained neutral. The Neapolitans had banished many citizens, even sent some as

[1] Archives of Florence, *Relaz. di Firenze coi re di Napoli e Sicilia.* Atti Pubbl., li. On June 28, 1409.

[2] *Poggii Bracciolini Hist. Florentina*, Mur., xx. 312.

prisoners to Naples; the pressure of their arms consequently forced the Romans to energetic resistance. True, the allies were able to force an entrance to the portico of S. Peter on October 1, whereupon the fortress opened fire on the Neapolitans and raised the flag of Alexander V.[1] They did not, however, succeed in entering the city, but withdrew on the 10th, crossed the Tiber near Monte Rotondo, and attempted an attack on the north-east side. It failed, as did other repeated attacks, and the unexpected resistance of Rome seemed to threaten the failure of the whole costly enterprise. Lewis of Anjou and Cossa returned discouraged to Pisa, while Malatesta and Paul Orsini continued the siege. Ladislaus consequently committed a great mistake in failing to come in person to deliver Rome.

Cossa and Anjou are defeated before Rome. Oct. 1409.

On December 23 Malatesta encamped near S. Agnese, and the same night Paul Orsini again entered the Borgo. The Count of Troja here hoped to annihilate him, but himself suffered a defeat near the Porta Septimiana, which closed Trastevere. This decided the fate of the city.[2] For here Alexander's party only waited the first opportunity to rise, and Malatesta had entered into correspondence with Cola di Lello Cerbello, a respected Roman, to whom he offered large sums of money if he incited the people to revolt.[3] On the eve of S. Silvestro the

[1] *Intravit Porticum S. Petri hora Tertiarum Rex Ludovisius Paul de Ursinis, Jacob. de U., Poncellus de U., Johes de U., ac etiam D. Baldassar Card. et Legat. D. Alexandri P. V.* (Anton. Petr.).

[2] *Diar. Anton. Petri*, p. 1012. The Count of Troja was taken prisoner by the Orsini, but escaped.

[3] An instruction for *Palla d'Inofri Strozi* of March 19, 1410, says:

cry, "Long live the Church and the people," was raised in the regions Parione and Regola, and was re-echoed throughout Rome. Paul Orsini immediately entered Trastevere with Lorenzo Anibaldi; on New Year's morning, 1410, with others of his house, he crossed the Bridge of the Jews to the Campo di Fiore, where he found the people assembled, pronounced the Neapolitan rule at an end, and installed new officials. The same day Malatesta and Francesco Orsini also entered. On January 5 the Senator laid down his arms on the Capitol; the Neapolitan guards at the city gates did the same, though not until after a brave resistance. The Porta S. Paolo was especially strong, almost a fortress in itself, as is still evident, and for the first time in Rome's history the tomb of Caius Cestius was transformed into a bastion with breastworks.[1] The chronicler of Rome saw with surprise a great gun mounted on Monte Testaccio, which directed its fire against the Porta S. Paolo. This and the Porta Appia fell on January 8. On February 15 the Gate of S. Lorenzo and the Porta Maggiore were

Rome surrenders in January 1410, and does homage to Alexander V.

El m. sig. Malatesta da Pesaro nel tempo chera—nostro capitano per ricoverare roma et reducerla alla obedientia della Chiesa tenne uno tractato con Chola di lello cerbello cittadino rom. et di grande seguito et—promisse al d. chola 5000 *flor.—in caso—inducesse il popolo rom. a rubellione da mess. Ladislao. Seguitò che il d. Chola levò il rumore in roma che Roma ne* (*fu*) *ridacta alla obed. della Chiesa.* Malatesta, it is said, had in vain exhorted the Pope to pay the 5000 florins; the envoy was now to persuade him. Archiv. Flor., Registr. Instruction, t. xiv. 125.

[1] *Vidimus metam S. Pauli invertescatam, quod numquam fuit visum, nec auditum dicere.* Anton. Petri. *Invertescare:* to provide with wooden breastworks.

taken by assault, and, after Ponte Molle had surrendered on May 1, the entire city did homage to Alexander V.

3. Alexander V. in Bologna — The Romans offer him the Authority—He ratifies their Autonomy —His Death, 1410—John XXIII., Pope—His past —Death of King Rupert—Sigismund, King of the Romans, 1411—John XXIII. and Lewis of Anjou enter Rome—Expedition against Ladislaus of Naples—Its first success, its melancholy result—Bologna rebels—Sforza d'Attendolo— The Pope makes Peace with Ladislaus—Gregory XII. flies to Rimini.

Nothing now prevented Alexander from responding to the summons of the Romans and taking his seat in S. Peter's. He had announced a new Council to deal with the reform in three years, had left Pisa and gone to Pistoja, intending to proceed to Rome. But the astute Cossa induced him to remain in Bologna, and the characterless pope yielded to the orders of the cardinal to whom he owed the tiara. On February 12 an embassy of the Romans presented him with the keys and the banner of the city, with the urgent request that he would enter Rome as its ruler; the Florentines also expressed the same desire.[1] Alexander V. received the dominium from

[1] Math. de Griffonibus, *Memorial. Histor.*, Mur., xviii. 217. Ghirardacci, *Hist. de Bol.*, p. 581, says that there were ten bishops with the ambassador, the Count of Tagliacozzo. On March 27, 1410, Florence charges its envoys to invite the Pope to return; for the

the hands of these envoys, and on March 1 confirmed by charter the liberties of the Roman commune. The form of the government of the city and the most important magistracies at this time are revealed by this document. They were as follows— A foreign senator, who remained in office for six months; a foreign captain and judge of appeal with two notaries; a chamberlain; the thirteen captains of regions; a civic council of thirty-nine men; sixty constables; a protonotary; four marshals; two chancellors; two syndics of the Roman people; two secretaries of the Senate; two tax collectors (*gabellarii*); an overseer of the customs for the salt (*dohanerius salis*); two syndics for all officials; two overseers of the buildings (*magistri edificiorum*).[1]

Death of Alexander V., May 3, 1410.

The Pope had sincerely intended soon going to Rome, but death overtook him at Bologna on May 3, 1410. If we may credit malicious rumour, this Pope also was hastened on his way to eternity by Baldassare Cossa. According to the belief of contemporaries, Alexander V. was a liberal and learned man, but a good-natured glutton, and without a will of his own.[2] On the sacred chair he found himself

Roman envoys, the Count of Tagliacozzo and *Alto Conte di Campagna*, had already done so. Reg. Instruct., xiv. 129. In Alexander's privilegium for Rome the envoys of the people are mentioned by name; among them *Nicol. Lelli de Marcinis*, a Conservator, who was perhaps the same person as *Chola di Lello Cerbello*. The latter name may be his nickname.

[1] Bull, Bologna, March 1, 1410, Theiner, iii. n. 109.

[2] *Hist. Andreae Billii*, Mur., xix. 41; Niem, iii. c. 51. Niem's *History of the Schism* extends to the death of Alexander V. He finished it in Bologna on the day of the coronation of John XXIII.

reduced to such straits that he was reminded of his early days; and speaking of himself said, "As bishop I was rich; as cardinal poor; as Pope a beggar."

The most influential of the cardinals had now only to desire the crown in order to obtain it. He made an apparent resistance to his election, but had he not gained the votes of the conclave by fear and gold, they would have been extorted in his favour by the swords of his mercenaries. Moreover, Lewis of Anjou, who was preparing for his expedition against Ladislaus, supported the elevation of Cossa, from whom he promised himself the possession of Naples. The eighteen cardinals assembled in Bologna elected the dreaded man on May 17, and on the 25th crowned him as John XXIII. in the cathedral of S. Petronio.

John XXIII., Pope, 1410–1415.

Baldassare Cossa was descended from a noble Neapolitan house.[1] In his youth he and his brothers are said to have followed the lucrative occupation of corsairs. He afterwards became a distinguished soldier, and then went to the University of Bologna, where he led a dissolute life.[2] Boniface IX. had made him archdeacon and had brought him as his chamberlain to Rome. In the Curia, where fortune

The last book (*Nemus unionis*) deals with the attempts at union made by Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. from 1406 onwards.

[1] A decree of Charles of Durazzo, Naples, March 18, 1382 (*Reg. Angiov.*, fol. 20), ratifies the same privilegium for the family of Cossa from Ischia, to which Robert and Charles II. had already given a pension. Stephen Cossa and his sons Marino, John, and Peter are therein mentioned. Whether Baldassare belonged to this family or not, I do not know.

[2] Carl Hunger, *Zur Gesch. Papst Johann's XXIII.*, Bonn, 1876.

appears in portentous form, he had utilised his office to acquire wealth by indulgences and other means of usury.[1] He had become Cardinal of S. Eustachio, and had finally returned as legate to Bologna, where he shrank from no measures to retain dominion over the Romagna. His contemporaries unanimously pronounced him as great a man in all secular matters as he was ignorant and useless in spiritual.[2] Nor were there wanting voices of indignation called forth by the election of a pope who had acquired his reputation not by any service but by many crimes, whose sacred dignity was disgraced not only by his past, but also by the suspicion of having been the murderer of two popes.[3]

Shortly before Cossa's elevation, Rupert, the blameless but also inglorious, King of the Romans, died on May 18. John XXIII. consequently hastened to send his nuncios to Germany, in order to procure the election of Sigismund, King of Hungary and brother of the dethroned Wenceslaus. In him he hoped to gain an assistant against Ladislaus. Sigismund was elected King of the

[1] *Romana Curia, in qua maxime veluti portenta fortunae sepius emergunt*, says Poggio, *De varietate Fortunae*, p. 59.

[2] *In temporalib. quidem magnus, in spiritualib. nullus omnino atque ineptus.* L. Aretino, *Commentar.*, Mur., xix. 927.

[3] Niem has drawn the blackest portrait of Cossa in the *Vita Johis XXIII.*, ed. Meibom, Frankfort, 1620. *Publice dicebatur Bononiae, quod ipse ducentas maritatas, viduas et virgines, ac etiam quam plures moniales illic corruperat, ejus ibidem dominio perdurante* (p. 3). Were the men of Bologna merely cowards? Poggio: *non est meum insectari mortuos, sed etiam nihil iniquius vidit hoc saeculum quam Antistitem Christianae fidei, eum virum, qui nullam neque fidem norat, neque religionem. De variet. Fort.*, p. 59.

Romans at Frankfort on September 20. True that on October 1 another faction put forward the aged Margrave Jobst of Moravia, a member of the same house of Luxemburg. But he died as early as January 8, 1411, when Sigismund once more was unanimously elected at Frankfort on July 21.[1] He immediately recognised John XXIII. as lawful pope.

Sigismund, King of the Romans, 1411.

Rome rendered homage without hesitation, and accepted Ruggiero di Antigliola of Perugia, the Senator whom he had appointed.[2] Meanwhile Paul Orsini, as captain of the Church, eagerly continued the war against the adherents of King Ladislaus. Several cities surrendered to him, even the Colonna offered peace; Battista Savelli also made submission.[3] John XXIII. consequently found himself in tranquil possession of the city and its territory, while his rival Gregory XII. in Fundi or Gaeta found an asylum under the protection of King Ladislaus. In order to further the expedition against Naples, Lewis of Anjou came to Rome on September 20.[4] On

[1] Aschbach, *Geschichte Sigismund's I.*, c. 15.

[2] Anton Petr., p. 1018. On July 15, 1410.

[3] In order to gain the two Colonnas, John XXIII. had, on July 18, 1410, temporarily invested them with Genzano, Civita Lavigna, Passarano, Corcollo, S. Victorino, and Frascati. Deed, *Bonon. XV. Kal. Aug. A. I.* in Ratti, *Stor. di Genzano*, App. 124. Nicol. Colonna died on August 22; on the 23rd his brother John signed the peace. Anton. Petr., p. 1020. The treaty of the Savelli of January 13, 1410, with Alexander's Captain-general Malatesta, in Theiner, iii. n. 114.

[4] On October 27, 1410, he was in Corneto, where he gave safe harbour to all the Genoese. *L. dei gr. Jer. et Sicilie Rex—dat. in dicto portu Corneti sub annulo nro secreto die XXVII. Oct. III. Ind. Per Reg. presente D. Agatone de Bellavalle.* Archives of Corneto, Casset. A. n. 25.

December 31 he went hence with Paul Orsini to Bologna, where he urged John XXIII. to accompany him to Rome. The Romans also invited the Pope to return.

The army was equipped from the proceeds of the taxes from the provinces and the treasuries of the churches, and the services of the most celebrated captains of the time, Paul Orsini, Sforza, Gentile de Monterano, Braccio of Montone, seemed to assure victory to the Angevin. The expedition left Bologna on April 1, 1411. John XXIII. and all the cardinals were accompanied by Lewis and several French and Italian nobles, and followed by the main body of the army. On April 11 they reached S. Pancrazio; the following day, amid the rejoicings of the now subdued Romans, the Pope made his entry into S. Peter's, where the magistrates, carrying tapers, appeared before him to do homage. On April 23 he consecrated the banners, which he committed to the Angevin and the Orsini; and a few days later the pretender, accompanied by the cardinal-legate, Pietro Stefaneschi, with 12,000 horse and numerous infantry, proceeded to the conquest of Naples along the same road that Charles I., Charles of Durazzo, and so many other conquerors had taken.

John XXIII.'s expedition to Rome, April 1411.

Unhindered, he entered the kingdom near Ceprano. The brilliant victory at Rocca Secca on May 19, 1411, would have cost Ladislaus the throne had the victor made use of it. The King escaped with difficulty. He collected his troops at S. Germano, astonished that he was allowed time to do so. "The first day after my defeat," he said, "the enemy had

Unsuccessful enterprise of Lewis of Anjou in Naples.

me in his hand, the second he had my kingdom, the third he had neither my person nor my kingdom." From the field of battle Lewis sent to Rome as trophies the flags that had been captured of the King and Gregory XII. John XXIII. received them with transports of joy. The festival which he celebrated is significant of the spirit of the Papacy of the age, from which the priestly character had entirely disappeared. John had these flags erected in S. Peter's, in order that they might be seen by the whole of Rome; they were then torn down, and, while the Pope advanced in procession through the city, they were dragged behind him in the dust. Such was the form in which the head of the holy Church showed himself fourteen centuries after Christ. Terrible news, however, soon arrived; the battle near Rocca Secca had been no such day as Benevento or Tagliacozzo; for the defeated King soon stood with a fresh army in the field and in such a strong position that his enemies did not venture to attack him. Penury ruled in their camp; they were severed by discord; the Angevin accused Paul Orsini of treachery, because he had not pursued the King. The unfortunate pretender returned to Rome as early as July 12, with a victorious but shattered army. He embarked at the Ripa Grande on August 3, in order once more to return to Provence without a crown; not one of the disillusioned Roman barons offered him an escort of honour.[1]

The failure of the great enterprise was fatal for

[1] This causes surprise to Antonius Petri, who was an eye-witness (p. 1026).

John XXIII., for the power of Ladislaus remained unbroken. The King gained the Florentines by the sale of Cortona; they consequently abandoned the league with the Pope, who was further weakened by the defection of Bologna. This city, which Cossa had ruled so long as tyrant, scarcely saw him leave its walls as Pope, when it raised the old cry, "The people! the people!" expelled the cardinal-vicar, and reasserted its freedom. These various events inspired Gregory with fresh courage. What did it avail that his adversary again excommunicated Ladislaus and preached the crusade against him? The King could appear before Rome without encountering any great resistance, and the people were irritated by excessive taxation.[1] The mercenaries were not to be trusted; the captains Sforza and Orsini were at variance, and might become traitors any moment. The Pope, filled with suspicion, consequently entrenched himself in the Vatican and united the palace with S. Angelo by a walled-in passage.[2] Gallows and the headsman's axe punished the malcontents on the Capitol, where Riccardus de Alidosiis had ruled with severity as Senator since

[1] The yearly revenue of the wine-tax in Rome is estimated by Niem at less than 50,000 florins; Cossa wished to raise it to 100,000. *Vita Johis XXIII.*, p. 26.

[2] *D. Papa fecit incipere murare et fieri facere murum et andare in eum de palatio Ap. usq. ad castr. S. Angeli.* The passage itself was called *Lo Andare.* Ant. Petri, 1023. It was begun on June 15, 1411. The writer incidentally remarks that five large wolves were killed in the Vatican garden on January 23. In 1580 wolves were still so numerous, that the statutes of Rome ordained: *Lupum si quis interfecerit, intra urbem, habeat in Camera julios X., si extra urbem circum milliaria decem, julios V.* (lib. iii. c. 70).

August 27, 1411.[1] Rome remained obedient, but the infidelity of the captains of the mercenaries placed John XXIII. in no slight perplexity.

Sforza d'Attendolo rises to power and celebrity.

Sforza d'Attendolo, now in the service of the Church, was the younger rival of Paul Orsini. The celebrated condottiere, who derived his name from his herculean strength, was a native of Cotognola in the Romagna, where he was born about 1369. He had rapidly risen from obscure beginnings. It is said that as a youth he had earned his living with a mattock; that, disgusted with his humble fate, he one day threw his tool against a lofty oak, resolving that if it fell he would remain a peasant, if it stuck in the tree he would take service under one of the captains with whose renown the youthful imagination of Italy was then fired. The peasant's son mounted a horse and in time became grand constable of Naples and father of the Duke of Milan. The wars of the popes in Naples gave Sforza opportunity of displaying his military and political genius. John XXIII., rendered increasingly anxious by the fear of Ladislaus, summoned both his captains to Rome as council of war. They quarrelled. Sforza, whom Ladislaus had already won to his side, left the city with his company, and pitched his quarters on the Algidus in June 1412. The Pope sent a cardinal with 36,000 gold florins to persuade him to return,

[1] He remained Senator until the following year, when *Jacobus Pauli Comes de Podio* of Foligno became Senator. Anton. Petr., 1031. The custom was for the Senator first to ride to the Vatican, where the Pope reached him the staff; he then went to take possession of the Capitol, on the steps of which he was received by the captains of the regions, the banners in their hands.

but the defiant captain soon openly entered the service of the King, and advanced to Ostia, where he assumed a hostile attitude. The Pope exposed the traitor in effigy on all the gates and bridges of the city, hanging to the gallows by the right foot, a peasant's axe in his right hand, in the left a scroll which said, "I am Sforza peasant of Cotognola, a traitor who, contrary to honour, have twelve times broken my faith to the Church."[1]

The defection of Sforza, the revolt of the Prefect of Vico, who held Civita Vecchia with the help of the Neapolitans, the apostacy of other barons, and the irritated mood of the Romans finally compelled John to change his policy and with diplomatic skill to draw the King into the net of his intrigues.[2] As early as June, papal envoys negotiated a peace. The same Cossa, who had been the most eager advocate of the Neapolitan enterprise, now declared himself ready to betray the Angevin, if Ladislaus betrayed Gregory XII. He offered to recognise him as King, to make him standard-bearer of the Church, to pay him large sums of money for the release of Cossa his relation, and to surrender Ascoli, Viterbo, Perugia, and Benevento as mortgages. In return Ladislaus

Treaty between John XXIII. and Ladislaus.

[1] *Io sono Sforza, villano della Cotognola, Traditore, che dodici tradimento ho fatti alla Chiesa contro lo mio onore*—Ant. Petr., p. 1031, on August 17, 1412. *Vita Sfortiae*, Mur., xix. 653; *Annal. Bonincontr.*, Mur., xxi. 105.

[2] In order to win over the Palestrina branch of the Colonna family, he gave to Jordan and Lorenzo, sons of Agapitus, the vicariate of Olevano until the third generation. (Brief, *dat. Rome ap. S. Petr. X. Kal. Maji A. II.*) Ex Reg. Johis XXIII., *Cod. Vat.*, 6952, in Galletti, *Mscr. Vat.*, 7931, p. 73.

was to recognise him as Pope, to place one thousand lances at the disposal of the Church, to persuade Gregory XII. to resign, or banish him from the kingdom.[1] Ladislaus evidently dreaded the repetition of the Angevin enterprise; the King of France exhorted him to renounce Gregory. He was threatened by Sigismund, King of the Romans, whom, as pretender to the throne of Hungary, he had made his enemy, and who, being a strong man, intended to assert the claims of the empire in Italy, and he therefore resolved to form a compact with John XXIII. The unexpected treaty of peace was concluded at Naples in June 1412, and was proclaimed in Rome on October 19. It was dishonourable to both sides. In order to save appearances, the King convoked a synod of bishops and magisters in Naples; this assembly immediately discovered that Gregory XII. unlawfully called himself pope, and was manifestly a heretic.[2] Ladislaus now would have had no scruple in selling his protégé, and it was only the flight of the betrayed Pope that saved him from this last disgrace. The aged Gregory was at his wits' end when one day, to his extreme surprise, he received the command to leave the kingdom as soon as possible. But the accidental arrival of two Venetian trading ships in the port of Gaeta helped him in his need. On October 31 he

Gregory XII. banished from Naples.

[1] Marin Sanudo, *Vite de' Duchi di Venezia*, Mur., xxii. 808.

[2] Letter of the King to John XXIII., of October 16, 1412, from *Castell nuovo*—Rayn., n. 2, v., *beatitudini tenore pres. nunciamus, quod nunc firme credimus et profiteamur, praefat. assumptionem vestram ad regimen Romanae et univ. Ecce. inspiratione divina fuisse canonice celebratam.*

embarked on one of these vessels with his few friends or relations, among whom was his nephew, Cardinal Condulmer, afterwards Eugenius IV., and, in deadly terror of corsairs and enemies, sailed through the two Italian seas until he reached the coast of Slavonia. He was thence transported by another vessel to Cesena, where Carlo Malatesta appeared and offered him an honourable escort and an asylum at Rimini. The successor of the celebrated lords of Rimini was the sole but powerless prince who espoused Gregory's cause. His unswerving loyalty—judge the motives that inspired it how we may—commands respect, and shines all the more brightly in contrast with the disgraceful treachery of Ladislaus.[1]

The treaty with John was, moreover, a very important step towards the tranquillisation of the schism; for Gregory XII. thus forfeited his last support of political importance, and events soon followed that compelled John XXIII. also to appear before the tribunal that was to judge all three popes.

[1] See Gregory's letter, *dat. Arimini IX. Kal. April A. IV.* Raynald, n. 4. Amid many hardships he reached Slavonia, *et tandem in quinque barcunculis nos et venerabil. fratres nri S.R.E. cardinales, qui tunc tres numero nobiscum erant, mare ipsum transivimus per diem naturalem mirifice—ad portum Cesenaticum aplicantes;* where Carlo Malatesta received them.

CHAPTER VI.

1. John XXIII. and the Synod in Rome—Sigismund in Italy—John announces the Council—Ladislaus appears before Rome — The Neapolitans enter the City — John flies and is pursued—Ladislaus Master of Rome, 1413 — Sack of Rome — Ladislaus occupies the State of the Church—John XXIII. in Florence—Constance chosen as the Meeting-place of the Council—Meeting between the Pope and the King of the Romans at Lodi — The Council convoked at Constance—John returns to Bologna.

The continuation of the Council had been appointed to take place at Pisa within three years; the unbounded corruption of the Church, whose dogmatic unity was threatened by the heresies of Wycliffe, which were constantly gaining ground, demanded a drastic reform, and this reform could only be accomplished by an Œcumenical Council. During the first year of his pontificate, John XXIII. had occupied himself solely with his secular affairs. True, he had summoned a Council in Rome for April 1412, but this Synod, to his own satisfaction, had been so thinly attended that it could hardly be reckoned an assembly of the Church.[1] Nothing

Synod in Rome, April 1412.

[1] The *Vita* of John (Mur., iii. ii. 846) actually reproaches him

better illustrates the view held by contemporaries of the criminal character of the man than the account of an amusing incident that occurred during this Synod. While John was celebrating vespers in the chapel of the Vatican and the *Veni Creator Spiritus* was being sung, instead of the Holy Ghost a shaggy screech-owl appeared, that glared at the Pope with fiery eyes. It returned at a second sitting, when the dismayed or amused cardinals killed it with sticks. Several historians have mentioned the incident.[1]

John was incessantly urged to summon a Council. Envoys of the University of Paris even came to Rome to use their persuasions. Among the kings who reminded him of his duty none was more zealous than Sigismund, who determined to restore the ties between the empire and Italy which had been interrupted so long. He appeared in the country as early as the end of 1411, to wage war on the Venetians on account of Zara; and, although at first unsuccessful, he afterwards acquired a commanding position in Lombardy. On March 3, 1413, John, harassed on all sides, at length announced to Christendom that he had pacified Rome, had removed Gregory XII. from Naples, and made peace with the kingdom. At the same time, he fixed a General Council, at a place yet to be determined, for

The Council is announced, March 3, 1413.

thus: *per amigeros suos impedivit Praelatos in stratis, ne ad concilium haberent tutum accessum.*

[1] Niem, *Vita Johis XXIII.*, p. 27. The night-owl, as a symbol of this Pope, is not wanting in his portrait in Lenfant's *History of the Council of Pisa.*

the December of the coming year.[1] His resolve was hypocritical, but a curious chain of events, which originated in Naples, forced him to carry out the plan that he hoped to avoid.

Ladislaus had renounced Gregory and made peace with John only to deceive him. He burned with the desire to punish the Angevin expedition, by which the Pope had brought him to the verge of ruin. His thoughts were constantly directed to the monarchy of Italy, which he hoped to attain by the union of Naples with the State of the Church. But although for a moment the project appeared possible, Italian unity could not be achieved from the south by means of Naples; and Ladislaus, the most enterprising monarch of the kingdom, became only an important instrument of the time in another direction, since his attack on Rome and his speedy death helped to hasten the great Council by which the schism was ended.

John having announced his intention of convoking a Council elsewhere than in Rome, the King made the announcement a pretext for violating the treaty. He explained that during the absence of the Pope he had to protect Rome from disturbances. Roman exiles urged him again to seize the city. His former ally, John Colonna, it is true, had died on March 6, 1413, but the King still found no lack of adherents. The Romans themselves hated the Pope and impatiently demanded a change of condition. With shameless perfidy Ladislaus broke the promises to

[1] Bull, *dat. Romae ap. S. Petr. V. Non. Martii A. III.* Raynald, n. 16.

which he had just sworn. In May he sent an army into the Marches, where Sforza, besieging his rival, Paul Orsini, the captain of the Church, in Rocca Contrada, prevented the latter from hastening to Rome.[1] As early as the end of the same month a Neapolitan fleet sailed to the mouth of the Tiber, and Ladislaus himself departed for Rome. The resistance of Count Orsini of Tagliacozzo, who had married a niece of John XXIII., was quickly overcome, and the King advanced unchecked from Grotta Ferrata to the city. Some of the inhabitants rejoiced, others were dismayed. To the clergy the King's perfidy appeared so perplexing, that a secret understanding with the Pope was suspected. And so far had the popes fallen in the public esteem, that they were regarded as traitors to their own city, which their predecessors so often and so obstinately had defended against kings and emperors. That an impious man like Cossa actually employed means such as these, in order by the fall of Rome and the State of the Church to create complications favourable to himself, should scarcely surprise us, when we consider the occurrences that took place under Gregory XII. But in so doing John would have proved himself the least intelligent of men. An understanding with Ladislaus in the beginning is not contradicted by facts; they show, however, that John allowed himself to be grossly deceived by the King.

[1] In order to relieve Orsini, John formed an alliance with Guidantonio of Montefeltro, Count of Urbino, and invited Florence to enter it. Treaty of July 7, 1413, in Theiner, iii. n. 142.

As Ladislaus approached the gates of Rome, the Pope applied himself to measures for defence. In order to pacify the people, he removed the oppressive wine-tax and even restored them their freedom. On June 5 he placed the government of the city in the hands of the conservators and captains of regions, and in magniloquent words exhorted the people not to fear the King, since he himself was ready to accompany them to the death.[1] The following day, under the presidency of the Senator Felcino de Hermannis, Count of Monte Giuliano, they assembled on the Capitol.[2] With equal exaggeration the parliament swore rather to die than yield submission to Naples. "We would rather devour our own children," cried the Romans, "than surrender to the serpent Ladislaus." Every intelligent man knew what the comedy signified. The Roman people, in whom the last spark of republican virtue was extinguished, were at the King's price. Suspicion that Ladislaus had come with the Pope's sanction and treachery paralysed even those in whom some patriotic feeling might yet have stirred. Ladislaus before Rome.

On June 7 the Pope with his entire Curia removed from the Vatican to the palace of Count Orsini of Manupello on the same side of the Tiber, where he spent the night in order to show the people that he

[1] Ant. Petri, p. 1034. The Romans answered: *P. sancte, non dubitetis, quia totus Pop. Ro. paratus est mori una vobiscum.* We must remember that the words *non dubitate* are always on the lips of the Italians, but mean nothing.

This Senator, who appears correctly registered in the official catalogue of the Capitol, is also known from a letter written to him by the Pope on April 6, 1413. Theiner, iii. 139.

He forces an entrance into Rome, and allows the city to be sacked, June 8, 1413.

trusted them. The Neapolitans already stood before the gates. An attack was expected. But instead, on the morning of June 8, the cry re-echoed through the city that the enemy was already in Rome. Ladislaus had ordered the walls beside S. Croce to be broken through during the night, and his general Tartaglia, who had entered by the breach, stood irresolute near the Lateran until the morning. Finding that he was not attacked, that the few militia whom he encountered turned in fear, Tartaglia marched with drums beating through the city. Never was a conquest more rapidly accomplished. John XXIII. immediately mounted his horse and fled from Rome, while Ladislaus entered and took up his abode in the Lateran. His cavalry followed the band of fugitives nine miles along the Via Cassia; several prelates died of exhaustion by the way; the Pope's own mercenaries pillaged the members of the Curia. The papal party with difficulty escaped to Sutri and thence the same night to Viterbo, as formerly Innocent VII. had done.[1]

Ladislaus meanwhile treated Rome with the arrogance of the conqueror. His troops sacked and set fire to houses; archives were destroyed; churches pillaged; sanctuaries insolently desecrated; drunken soldiers and their courtesans drank out of consecrated golden chalices; the Cardinal of Bari was dragged

[1] Niem (*Vita Johis XXIII.*, p. 31): *Vidi illa die currere pedestres aliquos senes et debiles per iter hujusmodi, qui prius tunc in eadem urbe quiete viventes adeo delicati fuerunt, quod vix pro solatio equitassent.* The Prefect might have slain all these fugitives; his troops were seen, but they had orders not to inflict any injury on them.

to prison; the sacristy of S. Peter's was emptied of its contents; horses were stabled in the sacred basilica. In violation of his given word, the King confiscated all the property of the Florentine merchants, and sent several Romans as prisoners to the kingdom.[1] He appointed a new government under Nicholas de Diano, whom he made Senator. He had a coin engraved with his name, and to his other titles added the curious epithet, "Illustrious illuminator of the city."[2] He provided the starving Romans with corn, which he caused to be distributed. The city was steeped in such dire poverty that it seemed to be inhabited by a crowd of beggars. Amid the ruins of their mediaeval history they might indeed have excited the same compassion which they had stirred in the time of Totila.

All the places in the civic territory again did homage to the King, and Ostia capitulated as early as June 24. Ladislaus even installed his officials in the Patrimony of S. Peter. He made a Roman, Cristoforo Capo di Ferro, treasurer there.[3] He left

[1] *Urbs quoque direpta ac plurib. locis incensa, volitantib. per flammas omnis generis literar. scriniis — stabula passim Ecclesiis prostituta . . . Andr. Billii Histor.*, Mur., xix. 42. Speech of Cardinal Chalant in presence of Sigismund, in Lenfant, *Concile de Pise*, ii. 182. *Poggii Hist. Flor.*, Mur., xx. 316. And speech of Cardinal Zabarella, in Rayn., *ad A.* 1413, n. 19.

[2] *L. Dei gr. Hungarie, Jer., Sicilie, Dalmacie, Croacie, Rame, Servie, Lodomerie, Comanie Bulgarieque Rex, Provincie et Forcalquerii ac Pedimontis Comes, Urbisque Illuminator Illustris.* Diploma for Corneto, of which we shall speak further below.

[3] Decree of the same as *Regius Thesaur. Patrimonii b. P. in Tuscia*, Viterbo, May 20, 1414. Fumi, *Cod. Dipl. di Orvieto*, p. 654.

the army to his captains, appointed Julius Caesar of Capua as governor in the Vatican, the Count of Troja as commandant in Trastevere, Dominico Astalli, Bishop of Fundi, as vicar, and then returned to Naples by Ostia, on July 1.[1] S. Angelo, which alone still adhered to the Pope, did not surrender until October 23. Festivals were held; men paraded the streets with torches, crying, "Long live King Ladislaus."[2]

John XXIII. in Florence.

John XXIII. now roamed a fugitive like Gregory XII. The conquest of Rome was the blast that had uprooted him and now drove him like a withered leaf before the wind. He did not dare to enter Florence, where opinion was divided and people feared the King's revenge. Like an outlaw he was obliged to make his dwelling in a suburb at S. Antonio, until the Florentines reluctantly received him.[3] He remained there until the beginning of winter, while the Neapolitans conquered the entire country as far as Siena. He addressed letters of

[1] Concerning D. Astalli, Vitale, p. 383. Since he was not Senator, he can only have been employed in spiritual affairs. His epitaph in S. Marcello (he died May 2, 1414), *ibid.*, 384. The Count of Troja was *Perrectus de Yporegia de Andreis Comes Troye*, according to the Reg. Ladisl. in the Archives of Naples.

[2] *Diar. Roman.*, p. 1035. The captain surrendered the fortress upon the condition that he was to retain all the valuables that the Curia kept there. He sailed with them to Naples, where Ladislaus soon deprived him of both valuables and life. Ladislaus was still in Ostia on July 3, 1413. While here he made a gift of property to Corneto, in reward for its submission to his rule . . . *dat. Hostie per man. nri pred. Reg. L. A.D.* 1413, *die III. m. Julii, VI. Ind. Reg. nror. A. XXVII.* Theiner, iii. n. 141.

[3] He dates *apud S. Antonium extra muros Florentinos*, July 25, 1413. Theiner, iii. n. 143.

complaint to Christendom and summoned kings to his aid.[1] To Sigismund, who was in Lombardy, he sent Cardinal Chalant to implore the King of the Romans for support. Sigismund's envoys came to Florence and urged the Pope to summon a Council. A meeting was arranged to take place at Lodi.

The King of Naples thus drove John XXIII. right into the arms of the King of the Romans, and after a long interruption the imperial power again confronted the Papacy. At a time when the empire itself had lost all its rights, in virtue of these ancient imperial rights, Sigismund saw himself invoked to become the restorer of the Church. After an interval of a century and a half which had elapsed since the memorable Council in Lyons, the history of the Papacy returned to its ancient path, and the Papacy itself was soon obliged to appear before a Council in a German city, which was to reverse the decision of Lyons. After the Papacy had fixed its centre of gravity in France and lost its moral and political power through the schism, it saw itself thrown back to those beginnings when the German emperors convoked Synods to judge unworthy and quarrelsome popes.

The astute Cossa was most anxious that the Council should not be held in any town that would place him under the authority of the Emperor. His one object was to retain the tiara at any price, but his arts were exhausted. The history of John XXIII. is one of the most memorable examples of the power of circumstances, by which the will of the

[1] Letter to the King of England. Lenfant, ii. 181.

individual is entangled in wrongdoing, so that he is hopelessly caught in a net that he himself has woven. He had sent instructions regarding the choice of an Italian city to Sigismund by his legates, the Cardinals Antonio Chalant of S. Cecilia and Francesco Zabarella of S. Cosma and Damiano, who were accompanied by Manuel Chrysoloras, the celebrated Greek. He had revoked these instructions, however, and entrusted his envoys with authority to come to an agreement with the King of the Romans.[1] He reckoned that they would act in accordance with his wishes, but when the plenipotentiaries appeared before Sigismund at Lodi, the King of the Romans maintained that Constance was the most appropriate place for the Council, and after some resistance they agreed. They announced the decision to the Pope. He complained of treachery, but submitted to Sigismund's will.

Constance the seat of the Council.

On November 12 he went to Bologna. In consequence of a revolution of the nobility under the Pepoli, Bentivogli, and Isolani, the city had again submitted to the Church on September 22, 1413, and now accepted, although reluctantly, her former tyrants. John hoped to establish himself securely at Bologna, and to escape the snares of the threatened Council; but this was a vain hope. Sigismund summoned him; the cardinals urged his departure. On November 25 he appointed Peter Stefaneschi Anibaldi as vicar-general in Rome, left Bologna the same day, and went with uncertain step to meet the

[1] We have these particulars from Lionardo Aretino, John's private secretary. Raynald, A. 1413, n. 21.

King of the Romans. They encountered each other at Lodi. His reception, although honourable, was chilling, and foretold the future to John. In vain he strove to persuade the King to choose an Italian city. Sigismund remained firm; and on December 10 the Pope was obliged to announce from Lodi to Christendom that, in accordance with an understanding with the King of the Romans, the Council would meet in Constance on November 1.[1] Sigismund by imperial letter had already summoned it for October 30, and under promise of safe conduct had invited all princes, nobles, prelates, doctors, and all who intended to take part, to repair to Constance. He now also summoned Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII.; he wrote to the Kings of Aragon and France, and for the first time after a long interval was heard the voice of the King of the Romans as head of Christendom and lawful steward of the Church.[2]

Sigismund cites the popes before the Council.

After Christmas, Sigismund and John went to Cremona, where Gabrino Fondalo, tyrant of the city, afterwards appears to have regretted that he had not thrown his two guests from the top of the tower whither he had led them, since he would thus have

[1] Bull *Ad pacem, dat. Laudae V. Id. Decbr. Pont. A. IV.* Hardt, *Concil. Constant.*, vi. 9.

[2] Sigismund's letters in Hardt, vi. 5. Those to Christendom are dated from the Villa Viglud as early as October 30, 1413. In the letter to Charles VI. he still makes use of the allegory *duo luminaria super terram, majus videl. et minus, ut in ipsis universalis Eccl. consisteret firmamentum, in quib. Pontificalis auct. et Regalis potentia designantur.* This division of mankind into body (the Empire) and soul (the Church) in its long-continued existence is one of the most remarkable of philosophical doctrines, expressing the essence of an entire civilisation.

destroyed the two heads of Christendom — a diabolical suggestion, which, if true, throws sufficient light on the barbarism of the minds of that age, when all the greatness of former times had become degraded.[1] After Sigismund and John had parted at Cremona, the Pope returned by way of Mantua and Ferrara to Bologna, which he entered in February 1414. He seized the government of the city with his accustomed skill, and sought for means to escape the ruin that awaited him at Constance.

2. Ladislaus marches by Rome to Tuscany — The Florentines oppose his advance — He turns back — Is carried dying to S. Paul's — Expires in Naples — Joanna II., Queen — Rome drives away the Neapolitans — Entrance and departure of Sforza—Pietro di Matuzzo, head of the Roman People—Rome submits to Cardinal Isolani—John XXIII. journeys to Constance—The Council — Fates of the three Popes—Election of Martin V.—The Colonna Family —Coronation of Martin V., 1417.

The conferences at Lodi had roused Ladislaus from his repose. He again set forth to take the field against Sigismund and the Pope, before they could unite in a league against him. On March 14, 1414, he entered Rome. The populace received him at the Lateran ; the doors of the basilica were thrown

Ladislaus in Rome, March 14, 1414.

[1] From Campi, *Histor. de Cremona*, quoted by Tosti, *Storia del Concilio di Costanza*, i. 90.

open; with proud contempt of the saints the King remained on horseback and rode into the Mother Church of Christendom, where the priests were obliged to show him the heads of the Apostles.[1] He remained in Rome, dwelling in the palace of Cardinal Peter Stefaneschi Anibaldi in Trastevere, until April 25.[2] Then, accompanied by Sforza, he went to Viterbo, after having commanded the Senator and the Count of Belcastro to make war on Jacopo of Palestrina, nephew of Nicholas Colonna, who, faithful to the peace with the Church, adhered to John XXIII. The King marched onwards by Todi to Perugia.[3] The Florentines, however, placed obstacles to his advance; their envoys induced him to conclude a treaty on June 22, by which he entered into alliance with the republic and promised not to traverse Bolognese territory. The jealousy of Florence thus protected John, and an unexpected death soon removed the last obstacle to the Council.

The King, unable to cross the Apennines, decided to return to Rome. In Perugia he had enticed Paul

The ailing King turns in Perugia.

[1] —*equester stando dictus Rex cum multis aliis Baronib. Diar. Roman.*, p. 1041. The Senator at that time was Anton. de Grassis of Castronuovo, called Bacellerius.

[2] *In domo Card. di S. Angelo de dicta Regione* (Trastevere). *Diar. Roman.* Probably the Palace Anibaldi-Molara which still stands opposite the island bridge. Ladislaus dates, *Rome in Reg. Transtiberis* on April 15 and 20. Reg. Ladisl., n. 362, 1390 B.

[3] From his letters in the Communal Archives at Todi, I gather that on May 5 he was near *Mons Rosulus*, on the 13th *in castris nris Viterbii prope turrim S. Johis de Bettona;* on the 20th near Roseto in the county of Todi; on June 7 near Todi; on July 2 at Perugia. On July 8 he was at Narni (Reg. Ladisl., n. 362, 1390). On July 14 *prope montem Rotundum* (*ibid.*).

Orsini and Orso of Monte Rotondo with other nobles to his side and imprisoned them as traitors. He carried them with him in chains in order to have them executed later. He was himself seriously ill. Exhausted by dissipations (rumour asserted that he had been poisoned in a diabolical manner by the beautiful daughter of an apothecary in Perugia), he broke down at Narni. He was carried to Passerano in Roman territory, and thence on a litter, which had been brought from Rome, was borne to S. Paul's without the Gates.[1] The powerful monarch, twice triumphator over Rome and conqueror of the State of the Church, now entered S. Paul's, wasted by a loathsome illness, stretched on a bier, which was carried by stalwart contadini through the silence of the night.[2] Arrived at the monastery, he may have recalled the time when, at the summit of fortune, he had decked himself for his entry into Rome, and at the same time may have remembered that it was this very monastery where his ancestors, the founders

[1] *In castro Passarani*, dates Ladislaus as early as July 15. Archives of Naples, *ibid.* He remained there ill for seven days. In the Communal Archives of Orvieto, I found his letter to this city, commanding that the *castr. Lugnani* shall be surrendered to his captain, Malacarne. *Dat. in castro Passarani sub parvo nro. sig. die XXIII. m. Julii VII. Ind.* Beneath: *non miremini si presentes nras licteras non subscripsimus quia dolorem capitis quem aliquantul. patimur de praesenti, non subscripsimus p. manu nostra.* Outside: *nob. viris Thomasio Carrafe de Neapoli militi et priorib. pacis populo Urbevetano praesidentib. cambellano et fidelib. nostris dil.*

[2] *Fuit facta in Roma una sedes ad portandum—Regem de dicto castro Passarani ad S. Paulum de Urbe. Die* 30 *dicti m. Julii de nocte fuit portatus per Vassallos castri Zagaroli et Gallicani. Diar. Roman.*

of the dynasty of Naples, had lodged. He was himself the last of this house; a house that perished in crime. Its history thus describes a circle, the beginning and end of which, the triumphant entry of the ancestor and the melancholy departure of the last descendant, meet in S. Paul's without the Gates.[1]

A galley received the dying King. He reached the shore of Naples and the Castell Nuovo, where amid terrible sufferings he breathed his last on August 6, 1414. Such was the end of a king, distinguished for chivalric energy, grandeur of intention, and lofty striving for glory, the most prominent figure among the Italians of his age. The crown of Naples passed by inheritance to his only sister Joanna, the childless widow of William, son of Leopold II., Duke of Austria. She was a beautiful and voluptuous woman, celebrated in the history of Naples by the storms of guilt, passion, and misfortune which caused her to resemble her predecessor of the same name.[2]

Death of King Ladislaus, Aug. 6, 1414.

Great joy prevailed in Rome on the news of the King's death. The national party again indulged in

[1] By his marriage with Mary of Hungary, Charles II. founded in his three sons the three main lines of the Neapolitan house of Anjou. The eldest son, Charles Martel, was the founder of the royal line of Hungary, which expired in the daughters of Lewis (he died in 1382), Mary of Hungary and Hedwig of Poland. The line of Robert, the second son, ended with Joanna I. (who died 1382); that of the third, John of Durazzo, with Ladislaus and Joanna II. (died 1435).

[2] On August 13, 1414, she announced to Orvieto that the envoys of the city did not find Ladislaus alive: *quia ille generosus princeps proh dolor ab hac vita migravit;* she had summoned all the barons of the kingdom to Naples. *Dat. in Castro novo Neapoli sub anulo nro secreto die XIII. Aug. VII. Ind.* Communal Archives of Orvieto, Compartment I.

thoughts of political independence, and the unfortunate Romans again raised the shout of "The people! the people! and liberty!" As early as August 10 the Senator resigned his staff of office into the hands of the conservators, and quitted the Capitol. The same day all the gates of the city were surrendered to the people. Except S. Angelo and Ponte Molle, which held to the Queen, Rome was free. New magistrates were created. The factions fought for Naples, Church or republic.

The Romans restore the popular government.

Meanwhile, in order to secure Rome to the heiress of the King, or to create an opportunity favourable to himself, Sforza hurried from Todi. The Colonna and Savelli were on his side; the Orsini were now enemies, since the most celebrated member of the house had been carried by Ladislaus a prisoner to Naples. The brave general appeared before Rome on September 9, hoping to overpower the city. Friends gave him admittance; he spent the night in the Lateran and then advanced to the centre of Rome. But barricades had been erected here; and Sforza, who had pushed to the Vatican Borgo, in order to place himself in communication with S. Angelo, was driven back. His attempt to force a way from Monte Mario failed, so that, with his companions Battista Savelli and Jacopo and Conradin Colonna, he was forced to enter by the Via Flaminia, on September 11.[1] The day before, the

Sforza forces an entrance to the city.

[1] *Iverunt in nomine Diaboli versus Castrum novum. Diar. Roman.*, p. 1046; *Vita Sfortiae*, Mur., xix. p. 660. On September 11, Sforza wrote a letter from Castronovo to the commune of Orvieto, in which he says that, with Baptista Savelli and Jacobo Colonna, he

people had made Pietro di Matuzzo, a favourite burgher and one of the conservators, dictator of the city; he had been led by force to the Capitol and the signory thrust upon him. The worthy burgher once more recalled the vanished times of Arlotti and Cola di Rienzo. Several aristocrats, previously banished by the Neapolitan government, among them Francesco Orsini, returned as early as September 12, and did homage to the popular leader on the Capitol.

Pietro di Matuzzo last tribune of the people.

His government, however, endured but a short while. For already the Cardinal-legate Isolani approached to take possession of the city in the name of the Church. To John XXIII. the death of the King appeared a fortunate event, through which he might hope to attain a strong position in Rome and the State of the Church, and thus escape the Council. But he deceived himself, although his cardinal without difficulty succeeded in overthrowing the popular government. A revolt was prepared, and on October 16 the cry of "The Church and the people" was raised in Trastevere. The revolution was accomplished without a struggle. A parliament in Aracoeli installed thirteen new rectors, whereupon Pietro Matuzzo left the Capitol and quietly returned home. Envoys of the people summoned the legate

had entered Rome the day before (*heri in domenica*), that he had been in danger owing to a tumult, that nevertheless he had spent the night quietly in the Lateran, and the following day had gone to the Borgo about noon. Meanwhile a messenger had arrived from the Queen and, supported by him, had made a *libera lega* between Rome and her. He had then departed. (Archives of Orvieto, communicated by L. Fumi.)

Cardinal Isolani enters Rome, Oct. 19, 1414.

from Toscanella, and on October 19, 1414, Isolani entered Rome, where he received the homage of the Church and restored the rule of the conservators.[1]

Meantime, John XXIII. travelled to Constance. He had been anxious to go to Rome, but was forced by his cardinals to leave Bologna for the Council on October 1. He journeyed thence with large sums of money. In Tyrol he bought an alliance with Duke Frederick of Austria, in any event to secure the aid of this prince for his house. On October 28, filled with sad forebodings, he made his entry into the town on the shore of the Bodensee, where he was received with honour as Pope.[2] Bishops, ecclesiastical dignitaries, lords and envoys of many lands already filled the tiny city, which was not able to accommodate so vast a throng.[3] This was a parliament of nations such as history had never hitherto beheld, and an assembly of the greatest intellects of the time, who appeared as the delegates of universities and learning. The Council held in Swabian Constance, where

John XXIII. in Constance, Oct. 28, 1414.

[1] These circumstances have been accurately described by Anton. Petri in the *Diar. Roman.* Concerning Card. Isolani, see D. Celestino Petracchi, "Vita di mess. Jacomo Isolani," in the *Miscell. di Varia Letteratura*, Lucca, 1662, vol. i.

[2] The journey from Italy to Constance was difficult at this time. It has been described by L. Aretinus (*Epist.*, iv. n. 3). He is surprised at Trent *quod viri mulieresque, et cetera multitudo intra una moenia constituti alii Italico, alii Germanico sermone utuntur.* The Tyrolese seemed to him barbarians.

[3] According to statistics in Hardt, v. 52, there were present at the Council: 2400 knights, 18,000 prelates, 80,000 laymen; *meretrices vagabundae* 1500. *Item dicitur quod una meretrix lucrata est VIIIC flor. Item, quid. civis Constantiensis vendidit uxorem suam Cancellariis Regis pro VC ducatus, pro quib. pecuniis emit domum.* The lake of Constance swallowed by degrees 500 men.

in former days Barbarossa had given freedom to the Italian cities, was a European Congress of epoch-making importance. All nations, still united in the Catholic faith, gazed on this illustrious assemblage, which represented their weightiest interests and the spirit of the century. A long process of the human race, carried out in all departments of the State, the Church, society, learning, was now to find its close, and the reform of the ecclesiastical organism, which the tyranny of the popes had rendered necessary, was to issue therefrom in a new guise. The fabric which had been reared by great popes from the time of Hildebrand was to be shattered; the hierarchy of Innocent III. was to be reduced to proportions suitable to the age with regard to both State and people; the absolute monarchy of the Church was to be restricted to a limited monarchy, and from Canon law were to be eliminated all the principles by means of which the bishops of Rome had hitherto subjugated kings and provincial churches. The Council of Pisa had made the first breach in the mediaeval fortress; the Council of Constance was to take the stronghold itself. It was badly defended, and weakened by a threefold division. We have noticed how, in consequence of the decline of the Church, the empire had recovered energy, not as a political power, but as a principle of international authority. The survival of the imperialist idea at so late a time is one of the most remarkable facts of history. The rights, the institutions, the provinces of the Church had fallen, but the conception of the emperor as protector and head of the European

peoples endured and again met with universal recognition. The Council of nations placed itself under Sigismund's authority. Nevertheless the King of the Romans did not come to its opening. The ceremony took place under the presidency of the unworthy John XXIII., and Sigismund, who had caused himself to be crowned at Aachen on November 8, did not arrive at Constance until Christmas.[1]

The Council of Constance.

If to this Council, in 1415, Germany lent the imperial authority, France provided the most intellectual representatives of the learning which animated reform. The names of John Gerson and Peter d'Ailly are inseparably allied with the great ecclesiastical assembly on which their frankness exercised so vast an influence. Gerson, as Chancellor of the University of Paris, was the representative of European learning ; d'Ailly, as cardinal, the representative of the French Church, which was asserting its autonomy. Gerson, as champion of the independence of the imperial authority from the pope and of the right of the emperor to summon a Council, finally as champion of the principle that the Council represented the universal Church and consequently stood above the pope, was to Sigismund a more powerful ally than in former days Marsilius or Occam had been to Lewis the Bavarian. But were not these doctrines of the monarchists, which John XXII. had condemned as heretical, now recog-

[1] On November 9 he writes from Aachen in a hypocritical tone of submission, announcing his coronation and his speedy arrival to John XXIII.; nevertheless the deposition of the Pope had already been resolved on so far as he was concerned. Raynald, n. 12.

nised by the entire world? There is in truth an intimate connection between Dante's *Monarchia* and the theories of Gerson, d'Ailly, Theodoric of Niem, Theodoric Vrie, Herman of Langenstein and all the other French and German reformers of the time of the Council of Constance.[1]

The acts of the great ecclesiastical assembly belong to the history of Europe, and only the reunion of the divided papal authority in the hands of a unionist pope, who then came to Rome amid entirely new conditions to take his seat in the Vatican, has any influence on the city and its further history.

John XXIII., supported by the Italians, had hoped that the Council in Constance would have been simply the continuation of that in Pisa, from which he had issued as Pope. He had thus hoped to pre-

[1] Hardt has collected all these writings in his work on the Council. Theod. Vrie, *de Consol. Eccl. ad Sigism. Imp.*, says, like Dante, the misfortune of the world is *gladius Imperatori extortus et pontificib. vindicatus. — Apparet igitur — Pontifices praenuncios esse — antichristi, cum causa sint cessationis et vacationis imperii* (i. 79). The most important of these writings is *De Modis uniendi ac reformandi eccl. in concilio univ.* (i. pars iv.). It is not with any certainty that it is attributed to Gerson. Its principles agree with the *Defensor Pacis:* the reform of the Church, the limitation of the papal power, the restoration of the episcopal authority. Christ only gave Peter the *potestas ligandi per poenitentias et solvendi culpas. Non enim illi contulit, ut regna, castra et civitates haberet, ut imp. et reges privaret.* No dominium conferred the right of unction. Saul was not subject to David. Never did the emperors take the oath of fidelity to the pope. Defence of the Emperor against the Clementines and Decretals. *Omnes inobedientes Ro. Imp. et ejusd. imperio, quia ejus jura usurpant, in statu damnationis sunt. . . . Papatus non est sanctitas nec facit hominem sanctum.* The General Council represents the Church and stands above the pope, whom it can elect and depose.

serve the tiara. He had further hoped to make the trial of the followers of Wycliffe and the teachings of Huss the principal subjects of the parliament, and consequently to divert attention from himself. Cossa, the representative of the ancient, tyrannical Church, sunk so deep in iniquity, seated as judge over the noble Huss—a man filled with an enthusiastic moral ideal of mankind—presents a sight from which we turn with shame. But he was not entirely successful in his aim. The preponderance of the Italian prelates was removed by the decree of February 7, by which it was decided that the votes should no longer be taken by heads, but by nations, and this sagacious innovation deprived John of his most important aid.[1] The Council demanded the abdication of all three popes. Gregory XII., cited with Benedict XIII. before Sigismund, had recognised the Council as summoned by the King of the Romans and had sent his envoys. He showed himself ready to renounce the tiara, if his rival would do the same. Reduced to extremities, John, against whom more especially the French appeared with weighty accusations, finally, to the great joy of all assembled, promised to resign. But on March 20, 1415, dressed

[1] Aschbach, *Leben Sigismund's II.*, Bk. ii. c. 3. The nations were the Italian, German, French and English. With the German were included the Hungarians, Poles and Scandinavians. A reporter thus draws the various national characteristics: the Germans are distinguished by *instantia et importunitas;* the English by *audacia et acuitas;* the Italians by *astutia et partialitas;* the French by *solemnitas et excellentia*, which Schmidt (*Gesch. der Deutschen*, vii. c. 12) excellently translates with "bravado and the gift of showing themselves to advantage."

as a peasant, he escaped to Schaffhausen, a town belonging to Frederick of Austria, and there revoked his promise. His flight was his condemnation and his fall. And its result was that, in the memorable IV. and V. Session, the ecclesiastical assembly decreed that the Œcumenical Council, as representing the militant Catholic Church, derived its authority immediately from Christ, and consequently stood above the pope.[1] Sigismund's weapons forced Frederick to surrender the fugitive. After having wandered through Laufenburg, Freiburg and Breisach, John was brought by the Duke to Radolfzell, near Constance, on May 29, was pronounced deposed by the Council, and condemned to prison in penance for his sins.[2] He was brought provisionally to the castle of Gotleben, where Huss also sat imprisoned and awaiting his fate. The past and future of the Church here met in chains. One of the prisoners was the criminal pilot of the shipwrecked mediaeval Church, the other the first Columbus of the Reformation, who like a corsair was condemned to death.

Flight from Constance of John XXIII.

His imprisonment and deposition, May 22, 1415.

Gregory XII. immediately renounced the tiara and showed himself the only one of the popes in whom the priestly conscience was not quite extinguished. Carlo Malatesta, his loyal protector, in the name of the aged Pope, and in presence of the

Renunciation of Gregory XII.

[1] Martene, *Vet. Mon. Coll.*, vii. 1412.

[2] Raynald, n. 23; Lenfant, *Concile de Constance*, i. 173. Fifty-five accusations were brought against Cossa (*omnia peccata mortalia et innarrabilia crimina continentes*). Although they were reduced, they still sufficed to pronounce such a man infamous. After the reading of the sentence, a goldsmith publicly broke the papal seal of John XXIII., and another man his papal armorial bearings.

Council, announced his solemn renunciation on July 4, and Gregory ratified this decision at Rimini.[1] In gratitude he was allowed to retain the cardinal's purple, and the legation of the Marches was conferred upon him. Only when he had resigned the Papacy did Angelo Correr obtain honour from the world. After a life filled to overflowing with change, hatred, and trouble, he died a peaceful death at an advanced age, on October 19, 1417, at Recanati, where he lies.

Defiance of Benedict XIII.

The close of the suit against Benedict XIII. now alone remained. If the cunning escape of John was disgraceful, the straightforward resignation of Gregory honourable, the firmness of Peter de Luna extorts all the respect due to an indomitable character. So much courage assuredly merited a nobler cause. The invincible Spaniard determined to die as pope. Surrounded by some cardinals, he remained at Perpignan, where he had come at Sigismund's invitation. For in his zeal Sigismund had gone to Narbonne, in order with France and Aragon to procure Benedict's abdication. Neither the meeting of this prince and several prelates nor Sigismund's visit in person, neither entreaties nor menaces, neither the defection of the Spaniards nor the anathema of the Council moved Peter, a man of more than ninety. He fled to the strong fortress of Peniscola on the coast, where he entrenched and shut himself up. To this rocky stronghold was his papal realm restricted, and

[1] On July 4, 1415, the Council announced Gregory's resignation (*liberrime ac pie cessit*) and other events to the Viterbese. Theiner, iii. n. 145.

here he remained for some years secretly protected by Alfonso of Aragon and wearing the tiara, until deprived of it by death in 1423. Until 1871 this original character was the only one of the popes who refuted the well-known prophecy, "*Non videbis annos Petri*," for he remained pope for nearly thirty years.[1] Of such iron constitution did he appear to be, that it was asserted that nothing but a dose of poison could have sufficed to kill him.[2]

Unfortunately the Roman hierarchical party at the Council resolved that the election of the pope must be accomplished before the reform of the Church, so ardently desired by the German nation.[3] In order to elect a unionist pope, the agreement had been arrived at, that the five nations, of whom since the accession of the Spaniards the Council was composed, should each appoint six co-electors, and add them to the twenty-three cardinals. This memorable Curia stood at harshest variance with the hierarchical elective system, for so long as the Church endured

The conclave at Constance.

[1] On June 18, 1871, Pius IX. reached the twenty-fifth year of his reign. He celebrated this unusual festival as a voluntary prisoner in the Vatican. The last pope to hold the temporal government also reigned longest over Rome.

[2] He forbade his two cardinals, under penalty of a curse, to elect a successor; a decision that can scarcely be distinguished from childish self-will. Maimbourg (*Hist. du grand Schisme*, ii. 442), with equal caprice, calls him one of the greatest men of his century. Alfonso of Aragon, in order to revenge himself on Martin V., who favoured Lewis of Anjou, put forward yet another pope. The two cardinals laughingly shut themselves up in conclave, and appointed the Canon Mugnos as Clement VIII., who continued to be pope in Peniscola, until he abdicated *ritualiter* in 1429.

[3] The English also went over to the cardinals, and this decided the overthrow of the German work of reform. Aschbach, ii. c. 15.

never had a pope been elected by a committee of nations, although this electoral reform was in perfect harmony with the conception of the supreme head of Christendom. The conclave of fifty-three electors assembled on Monday, November 8, in the market-house of Constance, a building of unpretending aspect that still exists. People had prepared themselves for a long and tumultuous election; for in an elective assembly of such unusual character, and in circumstances of the kind, how could it be otherwise? The fathers of the Council advanced in solemn procession to the strictly guarded building, singing in subdued voices the hymn, "*Veni Creator Spiritus*," in order to invoke the inspiration of heaven on the imprisoned electors. The conclave at Constance, however, conspicuously put to shame the former conclaves of cardinals; for as early as the third day, November 11, 1417, the festival of S. Martin, a new Pope was unanimously elected: Oddo Colonna—Martin V.

Oddo Colonna, Pope Martin V., 1417–1431.

The rapid election evoked unspeakable joy. King Sigismund hurried into the conclave, and threw himself in tears at the feet of the new Pope, to do honour to him as universal pontiff, the morning star that heralded happiness and rose on the world after a long spell of darkness. The forty years' schism, one of the most terrible periods that the West had ever witnessed, was now ended, and joyous messengers hastened to bear the tidings to every country of Christendom.

Among all its divisions, the history of the Church shows that none was so frightful and so injurious as

this. Any temporal kingdom would have perished in it. But so marvellous was the constitution of this spiritual realm, and so indestructible the idea of the Papacy itself, that the deepest of those schisms only shows its indivisibility. The rival popes and the rival obediences held firm to the unity of the Church and the Papacy; since each camp believed in one true pope, each claimed the one indivisible Papacy. This was consequently renewed as soon as the persons engaged in the dispute were vanquished.

In Martin V. appeared the ancient Ghibelline house of Colonna, whose deeds had filled the annals of the city for three hundred years, but which now for the first time produced a pope. Martin, the only member of his family who ever wore the tiara, issued from the conclave at Constance at a time when the world lay in violent controversy with the papal authority, the absolute monarchy of which was to be transformed into a constitutional monarchy. The Colonna family was justly esteemed one of the most illustrious in Italy; powerful princes already reckoned it an honour to be connected with it by fabulous ties.[1] Its ornament at this time was Oddo,

[1] Thus Duke Raynald of Jülich in his congratulations to Martin December 13, 1417 (Coppi, *Mem. Colonnesi*, p. 161). On May 28, 1424, Martin himself wrote to Ladislaus of Poland, whose daughter Hedwig was to be married to Frederick of Brandenburg, that the Colonnas and the Burggraves of Nürnberg (Brandenburg) were of the same origin. Coppi quotes the letter from Contelori, *Vita Martini*, and from Dlugosz, *Histor. Polon.* I find, however, a copy of the letter in the Colonna Archives (iv. Brevi n. 5), with the absurd date *Romae ap. S. Mariam Majorem X. Kal. Nov. A. I.*, and the letter does not appear to me to be genuine at all. Frederick

Oddo Colonna and his house.

son of Agapito of Genazzano and Catherine Conti. He was grandson of Peter Colonna di Giordano, who had been senator several times between 1350 and 1357. It is probable that he was born at Genazzano.[1] Educated at the University of Perugia, Oddo had become protonotary under Urban VI., had been employed in several legations by Boniface IX., and lastly had been made Cardinal-deacon of S. Giorgio in Velabro by Innocent VII. in 1405. He had now deserted Gregory XII. in order to perform his duty at the Council of Pisa. While the Palestrina branch of the Colonna adhered to King Ladislaus, the line of Genazzano had been of democratic sympathies, and Oddo's brothers Jordan and Rentius had made themselves champions of the liberty of Rome immediately after the death of Boniface IX. Both branches rose to greater power after the peace of 1410, when the property of the Colonna was increased by the investitures of John XXIII., who sought to gain the friendship of the still influential family. The Colonna owed much directly to the pope whose successor was to be Martin V., and it was also John who made Cardinal Oddo rector of the Patrimony, Spoleto, and Umbria.[2] Oddo had consequently remained faithful to him, and was one of the first of the Italian cardinals to follow him in his flight from Constance. Endowed

the Great ridiculed this fabulous derivation of his family. See *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Brandebourg*, p. 1.

[1] The children of Agapito were: Jordan, Lorenzo, Oddone, Sciarra, Paolella, and Chiara. Coppi, *ut supra*, p. 140.

[2] Coppi, p. 155.

with a handsome person, sagacity, and noble rank, by his impartial demeanour he had rendered himself liked at the Council not only by Sigismund, but also by the prelates and other lords. Each country represented at the conclave had hoped for a pope of its own nationality. Only the renunciation of the Germans and English, who united with the Italians, forced the others to yield, and thus Oddo was unanimously elected. Fear of the choice of a French pope gave Rome an unhoped-for victory, and mankind has perhaps still cause to regret that a German pope, friendly to reform, was not elected at the Council of Constance, as in the times of Henry III. Oddo's personality was captivating. It was believed that no one but this noble Roman combined all the qualifications necessary to represent with dignity the union of the universal Church. The princely Colonna was indeed capable of performing the task, but as a Roman he also immediately restored the Roman Papacy. It was for him an inestimable advantage in itself that after the terrible schism he was enabled to appear as a reconciling saviour, on whom, from the beginning, were necessarily centred the hopes of the human race.

Coronation of Martin V. in Constance, Nov. 21, 1417.

Martin V. was consecrated in the cathedral of Constance in presence of King Sigismund and the thousand representatives of Europe on November 21, 1417.[1] This was a festival, greater than was ever

[1] The ritual of coronation was observed even in Constance. The Pope's horse was led by Sigismund and Frederick of Brandenburg. S. Peter's chair was carried by a palfrey covered with scarlet before the Pope. Nor was the homage of the Jews omitted. *Qui*

witnessed by any earlier pontiff. It raised the Papacy from its lowest depth to a new height, and showed the world that from the mystic faith of nations the popes still received sufficient splendour to revive, if with a weaker radiance, its faded nimbus.[1]

3. State of Affairs in Rome—Isolani and the Neapolitans — Braccio becomes Signor of Perugia and other Cities in the State of the Church—Fall of Paul Orsini—Braccio, Master of Rome for seventy days, 1417—Is expelled by Sforza—Martin and Joanna II.—Close of the Council of Constance—Huss—Martin V. goes to Italy—End of Baldassare Cossa—Martin's treaty with Joanna II.—Treaty with Braccio — Bologna makes submission to the Church—Martin V. enters Rome on September 29, 1420.

While such important events were taking place in distant Constance, Rome remained abandoned, simply an object for the ambition of all who could assert themselves by the sword. From the Council

porrexerunt sibi—ceremonias ac legem suam, quas acceptas Papa proiecit post tergum suum, dicens: recedant vetera, nova sunt omnia. Walsingham, pp. 3, 7.

[1] Martin V. announced his elevation by circular letters. One of November 11, the day of election, addressed to Viterbo, is given in Theiner, iii. n. 152. One of like tenor (parchment original) is in the Colonna Archives (iv. Brevi n. 6): *Nobili viro Rentio de Columna germano meo, dat. Constantie X. Kal. Dec. Pont. nri A. I.* He therein himself says that he was crowned on November 21.

the College of Cardinals ruled, in the most imperfect way, the city and the State of the Church, while Jacopo Isolani was and remained spiritual and temporal vicar, as he had been appointed by John XXIII.[1] On October 6, 1415, Isolani made Riccardo Alidosi of Imola Senator. S. Angelo still held out for Queen Joanna; and the Romans, who had conquered Ponte Molle on August 3, were unable to overcome the fortress. There was a Neapolitan party in the city, which gave rise to various disturbances and political trials. On October 7, Lello Capocci, one of the most distinguished citizens, was executed.[2] At this time Joanna married Jacopo Bourbon, Count of the March, of the royal house of France. This prince immediately usurped the power, removed his wife from her throne, threw Sforza, her former protector, into prison, liberated Paul Orsini, and in November sent him to Rome, there to restore Neapolitan influence.

Isolani's government in Rome.

Isolani was too weak to resist. An agreement was concluded, by which the siege of S. Angelo was raised. The fortress remained the bulwark of Neapolitan power in Rome, where consequently two authorities asserted themselves side by side. Things remained in this undecided state until a third pretender appeared before the walls. This was a bold leader of condottieri, Braccio, hitherto captain

[1] Viterbo and Corneto had again made submission to the Church. See the decrees of the cardinals, in Theiner, iii. 146, 147, 148. On January 1, 1415, Isolani gave amnesty to the commune of Corneto. Documents in G. Levi, "Legazione del Card. Isolano," in the *Archiv. d. Soc. Rom.*, iii. 412.

[2] *Diar. Roman.*, p. 1054.

Braccio da Montone becomes celebrated and powerful.

in the service of John XXIII., and already, next to Sforza, the foremost warrior of the time. He bore the well-deserved surname of Fortebraccio, *i.e.*, Strong-arm, as formerly the Norman William had borne that of Iron-arm. He was Count of Montone, his ancestral fortress near Perugia, had first served under Barbiano, distinguished himself under the Angevins in the military enterprises against Rome and Naples, afterwards frequently harassed Perugia, his native city, from which he was banished, and had acquired renown by deeds of arms in Cesena and before Bologna.[1] In consequence of John XXIII. having been deposed, Bologna again declared itself a free republic. Braccio, who was in the neighbourhood as captain in the papal pay, had concluded a treaty with the city, according to which he retired with his troops to seek his fortune elsewhere. He now tried to seize Perugia. Perugia summoned to her aid Carlo Malatesta from Rimini and Paul Orsini. But the former was defeated and even taken prisoner, and on July 19 the victor made his entry into Perugia, and usurped the signory. Paul now advanced. He was, however, defeated by Braccio's lieutenants Tartaglia di Lavello and Ludovico Colonna at Colle Fiorito on August 5, and thus the celebrated Orsini, who for many years had played so conspicuous a part in the history of Rome, fell by the sword of a Colonna.[2]

Jan. 5, 1416.

He becomes master of Perugia, July 19, 1416.

[1] See his life in Mur., xix., and in vol. i. of Fabretti's *Biografie dei Capitani Venturieri dell' Umbria*, Montepulciano, 1842.

[2] *Diar. Rom.*, 1057. Beside Paul Orsini, Paul Savelli was also famous as a condottiere. He was first in the service of Charles of

After victories such as these, a brilliant career opened before the valiant Braccio. Orvieto, Todi, and Rieti accepted him as ruler, and the scheme of conquering Rome no longer appeared too audacious. The indescribable confusion that prevailed in Italy encouraged generals of condottieri to extract their own profits. After foreign freebooters had endeavoured to found states for themselves, Italian condottieri renewed the undertaking and with better success. Of these Braccio and Sforza were the most memorable; both were founders of the new military science in Italy, both were alike great in arms, though not alike fortunate. And both compel our admiration by manliness of character and energy.

The progress of Braccio, whose lieutenant Tartaglia was nearing Rome, occasioned profound dismay in the city. On August 26, 1416, under the presidency of the Senator Riccardo Alidosi, parliament appointed three governors for the defence of the city. Envoys of the Cardinal-vicar Isolani and of the Roman people went to the camp of Tartaglia at Sutri, and (on September 16), obliged by fear and necessity, concluded a treaty with this brigand captain, by which, in return for a large salary as rector of the Patrimony, he was to defend the Church and Rome.[1] In Rome everything was vacillating and powerless; a party was in favour of Braccio; conspiracies were

Sicily, then in that of Venice, where he died in 1405, and received an equestrian statue with a laudatory inscription in the church of the Frari. The mother of this Savelli, Marina of the house of Trinci, who died in 1418, is buried in Aracoeli.

[1] See documents in the *Archiv. d. Soc. Romana*, iii. p. 417.

formed, discovered, and punished; on December 11 fell the head of the aged John Cenci, who as senator and captain of the people had long held a respected position. He was enticed into the Capitol, and without a trial, without the knowledge of the conservators or the captains of the regions, was beheaded there. Scarcely had the event taken place when Cardinal Isolani was seen riding from his dwelling in S. Lorenzo in Damaso to the Capitol amid cries of "Viva la Chiesa!" Executions were of almost daily occurrence. Rome was, however, only terrified for the moment; for at this time of tumultuous popular governments, nothing was more common in every city than executions such as these in the courtyards of the communal palaces.[1]

Braccio before Rome, June 3, 1417.

After having subjugated Umbria and a part of the Sabina, Braccio appeared before Rome on June 3, 1417. He first encamped near Castel Giubileo; on June 9 he advanced to S. Agnese without the Gates. To Cardinal Isolani, who courageously went to meet him, and questioned him as to the reason of his coming, he replied: he had the same reason as the popes—the desire to rule; he would guard the city as long as the sacred chair remained vacant.[2] The means of defence of the Romans were scanty; the walls were badly garrisoned; S. Angelo alone was capable of resistance; want prevailed in the

[1] Concerning the execution of *Johes Cenci de Regione Arenulae* (where the Palazzo Cenci still stands), see the *Diar. Roman.*, 1059, and Stephen Infessura, p. 1121. The Palazzo Cenci still gives the clearest idea of a fortified stronghold of the mediaeval nobility.

[2] *Vita Brachii*, Mur., xix. 545. The *Diar. Roman.* says, incomprehensibly, that Braccio had come with Isolani's sanction.

barricaded city. The cardinal exhorted the citizens to endurance; they swore not to admit the insolent Perugian. But Braccio soon forced them to receive him, and to do so with honour. His adherents in the city, among whom were Jacopo Colonna, Battista Savelli, and even Cardinal Peter Stefaneschi, carried the resolution in parliament that the enemy was to be admitted under conditions.[1] On June 16 the cardinal with all the magistrates rode to the Appian Gate to confer the signory of Rome on Braccio. Instead of swords the Romans carried palms, and advanced with the disgraceful shout, "Long live Braccio!" The audacious condottiere forthwith made his entry into the capital of the world, which of necessity and with deepest shame acknowledged him as its lord.[2] He made his abode in S. Maria on the Aventine, the cardinal-legate with the Senator having fled to the Neapolitan garrison in S. Angelo.[3]

Braccio, master of Rome, June 1417.

[1] Cardinal Isolani informs Niccola Uzzano in Florence of these negotiations with Braccio. Letter of July 1, 1417, from S. Angelo, Archives of Florence, communicated by L. Fumi in *Braccio a Roma, Lettere di Br. e del Card. Isolani*, Siena, 1877. Braccio had wished for the title of *Gubernator reipubl. Romanorum* and to be elected Senator. Isolani had refused the request and had offered him the title *Defensor S. R. E.* and *protector reipub. Romanor.*

[2] In the above letter Isolani writes: *cum maximis lacrimis introductus fuit. Se nui potessimo congregare pur* 300 *cavalli e* 400 *fanti semo certi quod recuperaremus Urbem.*

[3] Braccio announced to the commune of Orvieto his entry into Rome, in acceptance of the invitation of the cardinal-legate and the people: *me protectorem et defensorem urbis cum immenso gaudio receperunt. Dat. in urbe, die XVI. Junii. Braccius de Fortebracciis Montoni Comes, Alme Urbis Protector et Defensor, Perusii*, &c. Arch. Orvieto, printed by Luigi Fumi.

We note with surprise the lamentable change in the times. The greatest kings of the world had laid siege to Rome and been driven back from the walls of Aurelian. Of the many emperors who had come to be crowned, only a very few had been able to enter Rome, almost all had been obliged to remain satisfied with the ceremony in the Vatican, while the valiant citizens kept the gates of the city barred. What Barbarossa and Frederick II. had not been able to achieve, a leader of condottieri had now accomplished in a few days. Rome, impregnable for whole centuries, had been three times conquered without trouble in the space of ten years. Her fall under the sword of Fortebraccio sealed the overthrow of that republican spirit which had secured to the Romans an honourable independence during the Middle Ages. And even so had the same spirit vanished in other cities. Milan was now a duchy; Pisa subject to Florence; Genoa wavering between Milan and France; the smaller republics the prey of tyrants and condottieri. Venice alone remained unshaken like a rock in the sea, and on Florence still rested the afterglow of civic liberty.

Braccio, Defensor Urbis.

Braccio assumed the title of *Defensor Urbis*, and moreover remained satisfied with this modest designation of his authority.[1] Privileges that had only been permitted to emperors, popes, and kings of Naples, now belonged to a mercenary leader; he appointed his compatriot Ruggiero, Count of

[1] *Hoc unum gratiae petentibus Romanis dedit, quod se non amplius quam almae urbis Defensorem literis inscripsit, et se appellari jussit.* Cribelli, *Vita Sfortiae*, Mur., xix. 672.

Antigliola, as Senator, while Cardinal Stefaneschi usurped the office of vicar for the Church. On July 8 Braccio entered the Vatican, hence to prosecute the siege of S. Angelo. The stronghold stood in communication with the Meta of Romulus, a tomb of pyramidal form near S. Maria Traspontina; it had been converted into a fortress and provided with a garrison, which received supplies from S. Angelo by means of a rope.[1] Braccio having burnt the rope, the Meta capitulated on July 21. But here his good fortune ended.

The news of the great success obtained by the Perugian stirred Naples with excitement. From S. Angelo, which was closely surrounded, Isolani sent envoys to the Queen, asking for succour. It was high time, since on July 23 the troops of the condottieri were reinforced by Tartaglia's contingent. Joanna had now recovered the authority, had snatched the sceptre from her husband, released Sforza from his fetters, and made him grand constable. She also entrusted him—the personal enemy of Braccio—with the expedition to Rome, hoping by the expulsion of the tyrant to ingratiate herself with the future pope. Sforza marched to Marino, where he was joined by the Orsini, and on August 10 appeared before the city, which now, as in ancient times, was the object of the ambitious struggles of two great military captains. Nor could any more glorious theatre have been found on which to measure their respective powers.

Sforza before Rome, August 10, 1417.

[1] *Diar. Roman.* Thus two tombs near one another were turned into fortresses. The garrison was very small.

Sforza encamped before the Gate of S. John.[1] With chivalrous instinct he sent his opponent a bloody glove as signal of challenge. Braccio, however, did not venture to accept it. He held back his troops on the piazza of the Lateran, and Sforza
Aug. 11. marched across the Alban Mountains to Ostia, crossed the river on a bridge of boats, and describing a wide bend advanced to Monte Mario to relieve S. Angelo. The people in the city grew uneasy. Braccio had imprisoned several hundred Romans; he now restored them their freedom, assembled the chief citizens in the Vatican, and explained that he
Braccio retires from Rome. had decided on retreat.[2] The exile from Perugia, who had covered himself with the glory of having captured the eternal city, and had actually ruled it for seventy days,—a deed sufficient to immortalise his name,—was obliged to withdraw thence on August 26.[3]

A second general of mercenaries made his entry into Rome. The peasant of Cotognola, amid the braying of trumpets, passed through the gate of the
Sforza enters Rome, August 27, 1417. fortress into the Vatican on August 27, 1417. The city did homage to him in the name of the Church and of the Queen of Naples. He appointed John Spinelli of Siena as Senator, ordered Cardinal

[1] *Ad formas Urbis, in loco qui dicitur—la Marmora* (Aqueduct) *versus portam S. Johis. Diar. Roman.*

[2] Braccio to the commune of Orvieto, from Narni, August 29, 1417. L. Fumi, *l.c.*

[3] *Diar. Roman.* He demolished Ponte Molle. Infessura, p. 1121: *e per questa cagione tenne modo di rompere le marmora del Lago di Pedelupo* (near Terni), *e fecelo con intenzione di allagare Roma, come poco dopo fu fatto. Vita Brachii*, Mur., xix. p. 545.

Stefaneschi, by whose instrumentality the city had been surrendered to Braccio, to be removed to S. Angelo, where the cardinal ended his days on October 31. He was one of the most distinguished men in the sacred college, and had several times been legate in the city, which he had once surrendered to King Ladislaus.[1] Isolani now again undertook the government for the Church, Sforza having departed in pursuit of the enemy. He first marched to Palestrina, where Niccolo Piccinino, Braccio's lieutenant, had taken up his quarters on his flight from Zagarolo and whence he made raids as far as Rome. Piccinino, who afterwards obtained wide renown as a military leader, was taken prisoner; Palestrina, nevertheless, made successful resistance. Tartaglia was also defeated by Sforza near Toscanella. Such was the condition of Rome when Oddo Colonna was made Pope in Constance on November 11.

[1] Leodrisius Cribelli, *Vita Sfortiae*, p. 679 : *taedio indignationeque affectus haud multos dies vitae superstes fuit.* The cardinal appears for the last time on March 23, 1417, as Abbot-Commendator of S. Alessio (Nerini, p. 553). His epitaph in S. Maria in Trastevere only says : *Aspice cum lacrimis, lector ; quo marmore clausum Impia mors rapuit.* On his mother's side he belonged to the house of Anibaldi, on his father's to that of the Stefaneschi ; the same inscription says : *Fulsit ab Hanibale tam longi tramitis evo—obiit A.D. MCCCC. XVII. m. October a di ultimo.* On September 5, 1417, Isolani announces to Siena that he had imprisoned the cardinal on September 3, on the advice of the Count of Tagliacozzo, of Francesco Orsini, and Alto Conte ; his nephew, the Protonotary, had been examined, and had revealed a plot, by which Braccio, the Cardinal, Tartaglia, Battista Savelli, Jacopo Colonna, Richard of Molaria had conspired with Peter de Luna, to bring this anti-pope to Civita Vecchia and introduce him into Rome. L. Fumi, *l.c.*

Martin V. was obliged to accept accomplished facts; he concluded an alliance with Queen Joanna, to whom he entrusted the government of Rome during his absence; he ratified Isolani as vicar and Spinelli as Senator. Sforza himself made his winter quarters in Rome. Recalled to Naples in the spring of 1418, he conferred the command of the troops on his nephew Foschino.

Sforza leaves Rome in the spring of 1418.

Martin meanwhile longed to return to Italy. He wished to escape the reformation of the Church and to make an end of the Council. The assembly of the Church held its last sitting on April 22, 1418, to meet again five years later at Pavia and then to reassemble every ten years. For the Council had become too great a power to come to an end at Constance; on the contrary, it appeared as a new constituent element in a new constitution of the Church. The parliament of Constance had deposed three popes, had made a pope and burnt two celebrated heretics; but it had not responded to the deep seated demand of nations for the reform of the Church. Only temporary agreements with separate countries had been effected, and these did not remove the evils of the ecclesiastical administration.[1] The self-seeking Martin, zealously supported by the hierarchical party, followed in the footprints of his predecessor. To the Church's own misfortune, he betrayed the world in the matter of its reform, because he would suffer no diminution of the papal authority at the hands of the Council.

End of the Council of Constance, April 22, 1418.

[1] *Sed hanc Reformationem Deus ad futura Tempora reservavit: Vita Johis XXIII.*, Mur., iii. ii. 852.

The most important result of the Council was merely the acceptance of the doctrine, that the ecclesiastical assembly stood above the pope. European opinion, moreover, for the first time showed itself a power, and learning as an independent organ secured a decisive vote in the most momentous questions that touched mankind. The Council put an end to the schism. But alongside this tedious division a deeper one had opened; not, it is true, produced, but yet strengthened by the former. This was the evangelical heresy, which, although only a century later and at the cost of separation from the Catholic Church, carried the long-contested reformation, the work of the reason, the knowledge, and the faith of a riper age. The great movement which the teachings of Wycliffe and of the Lollards in England had evoked was the continuation of the older and newer Ghibelline ideas of Arnold of Brescia, of Marsilius and Occam, whose doctrines combated the secular jurisdiction of the pope, and at the same time protested against his spiritual absolutism. They repudiated the hierarchical constitution of the Church, and in matters of faith appealed to Holy Writ as the only source of knowledge and Christian teaching. Liberal-minded England protected Wycliffe from the flames, but his heroic successors John Huss and Jerome of Prague, to Sigismund's eternal disgrace, died at the stake at Constance. The chief crimes of the celebrated doctor of Prague were his rejection of all temporal jurisdiction of the clergy, his assertion of the equality of priests, and its necessary corollary —namely, that the pope was not the supreme head

John Huss burnt at the stake.

of the Church, which, moreover, could exist without him.[1] But the profound intellectual excitement was not allayed by the sacrifice which the petty-minded Sigismund offered to the Roman hierarchy; the sparks from the faggots of Constance were carried like torches to Bohemia and Germany, and the rebellious flames, which a century later devoured a bull in German Wittenberg, were also kindled at the stake at which Huss found his death.

Martin V. leaves Constance, May 16, 1418.

Accompanied by Sigismund, Martin left Constance with a splendid retinue on May 16, 1418. He went by Geneva to Milan, which he entered on October 12. This celebrated city was then ruled by the terrible Filippo Maria, second son of Gian-Galeazzo, who, since his cruel brother Giovanni Maria had fallen by the swords of conspirators on May 16, 1412, had been sole lord and last representative of his house. Martin's entry was magnificent, but was not attended by that religious enthusiasm that had greeted Innocent IV. on his return from Lyons. Further, he came to Italy as a noble without territory. Of the entire State of the Church there was scarcely a single town that he could call his own. Two more years were still

[1] Of forty-five articles, Huss refused to retract more especially three : *Silvester Papa et Constant. Imp. erraverunt, quod dotaverunt Ecclesiam. Item si Papa aut sacerdos in mortali existat peccato, non ordinat, non consacrat, non baptizat. Item decimae sunt purae eleemosynae.* Raynald, *ad A.* 1415, n. 39. See *Joh. Hus Determinatio de ablatione Temporalium a Clericis*, A. 1410 (Goldast, *Monarchia*, i. 232). The doctrine of poverty as the true imitation of Christ runs like a red thread through the history of heresy and reformation. See what Platina says in *Vita Johis XXIII.* of Huss and Jerome of Prague in this respect.

required before he was able to obtain recognition of his temporal power and before he could enter the Vatican.

In Rome, which Cardinal Isolani had not been able to tranquillise, everything was in confusion.[1] Battista Savelli and Carlo Orsini headed the turbulent factions, while Queen Joanna still remained in possession of Ostia, Civita Vecchia, and S. Angelo, and owing to her military strength was mistress of the city. Bologna still asserted herself as an independent republic, and Braccio was still tyrant of Spoleto and a part of Umbria and Tuscany. From Brescia and Mantua, where he stayed at the end of the year 1418, and from Florence, where he made his abode after February 1419, Martin endeavoured to remove these obstacles by treaties. The Florentines had invited him and received him with great magni-

Martin V. in Florence after Feb. 1419.

1 On December 2, 1417, Martin issued his first bull concerning Rome, imposing peace on citizens and barons. Theiner, iii. n. 153. At this time John Spinelli was Senator, and he still signs the Statute of the Wool-merchants on January 31. We then find three Conservatori again; after the end of April *Ranucio de Farnesio*, lord of Castro, Senator (appointment of Martin, Florence, April 27, 1419; Theiner, n. 165). The senatorship of Nerius Vettori for the first half of 1419 in Vitale is consequently wrong. On the other hand, he was Senator on February 11, 1420, as an act shows, *ex commissione sap. viri D. Johis de Becchalitibus de Heugubio Judicis Palatini et collateralis m. v. Nerii Dni Andree de Florentia presentis Senatoris alme Urbis* (Colonna Archives, Instr. di Giord. Colonna L. I. B. P., fol. 96). Vitale wrongly makes this *Joh. de Becchalitibus*, whose name he writes in mistake *de Bertholinus*, a Senator. He was vice-senator, as another document in the Colonna Archives shows. *Baldassare Conte di Bordella* of Imola succeeded (according to Vendettini as early as May 27, according to Vitale on November 27, 1420).

ficence; but they sarcastically jeered at him and looked with compassion on Baldassare Cossa, when the ex-pope appeared in humble guise to solicit the favour of the new Pope. Martin deemed it necessary to have Cossa in his power, and therefore removed him from the custody of the Count-Palatine Lewis at Heidelberg and brought him to Italy. Cossa, terrified by the fate of Celestine V., had escaped, but had then voluntarily gone to Florence, where he threw himself at the feet of his successor. Martin allowed him to retain the cardinal's purple, but the last humiliation hurried Cossa to the grave. He died at Florence on December 22, where his tomb, erected by Cosmo de Medici, still stands in the Baptistery of S. Giovanni.[1]

Death of John XXIII., Dec. 22, 1419.

From Florence Martin sent his brother Jordan and his nephew Antonio to Naples, since he fully recognised that it was only with the aid of Joanna that the State of the Church could be restored, while the Queen was aware that only with the help of the Pope could she uphold the tottering throne, on which Lewis of Anjou began to put forward fresh claims. Martin himself had either instigated these claims or else adroitly turned them to his own advantage. The ancient position of vassalage occupied by Naples was consequently to be revived. The Queen promised to surrender Rome, the Campagna,

Treaty of Martin V. with Joanna of Naples.

[1] The monument was erected by Cosmo in gratitude, it is said, for the wealth which his father had inherited from Cossa. Although John XXIII. died in extreme poverty, it is possible that the Medici may have earlier derived great profits from him. The inscription says: *Baldessaris Cossae Johannis XXIII. Quondam Papae Corpus Hoc Tumulo Conditum.*

Ostia, Civita Vecchia to the papal plenipotentiaries, to lend the Pope troops for the conquest of his State, and to provide the house of Colonna with fiefs. Martin in return recognised her as Queen, and Joanna was crowned at Naples by the Cardinal-legate Morosini on October 28, 1419.[1]

In order to drive from the State of the Church his strongest opponent, Braccio, without whose sanction he could not go to Rome, Martin V. took Sforza into his service. Sforza made war on his rival from Viterbo, until Braccio agreed to make peace with the Church, which he did on February 8, 1420. The tyrant of Perugia appeared with royal splendour in Florence, which was his ally. The admiration which he met with there and the satires of the Florentines so deeply wounded Martin, that he already resolved to leave the city. Braccio restored a part of his spoils to the Pope, but received Perugia and other cities under the title of vicar.[2] Humiliating as the treaty with a hated condottiere must have been to Martin, it was at the same time so practical and advantageous, that he now took the dreaded general

Martin V. pardons Braccio, Feb. 8, 1420.

[1] Joanna immediately heaped property in Naples on the house of Colonna. As early as May 1418 she made Jordan Duke of Amalfi and Venosa; in 1420 Prince of Salerno and Count of Celano; Lorenzo, the other brother of the Pope, she made Count of Alba. Coppi, p. 168. It is evident that Martin V. had conceived the idea of setting a relation on the throne of Naples.

[2] On March 26, 1420, at Florence. The diploma of the Pope for the *nobil. vir Bracius de Fortebraciis Comes Montoni*, in Theiner, iii. n. 183. It is a sneer, when Martin says: *dum nobilitatem generis ac fidelia opera et servicia grata tua, quae hactenus, dum essemus in minoribus constituti, pro statu et honore R. E. laudabiliter gessisti—pensamus*, &c.

into his service in order to entrust him with the war against Bologna. On May 13, 1419, he had again promised that city to preserve its self-government and the vicariate, but with the intention of defrauding it of both on the first favourable opportunity. When the victorious general entered her territory, Bologna yielded submission on July 15, and Cardinal Gabriel Condulmer made his entry in the name of the Church.

At last Martin could go to Rome. The Romans, who had surrendered the city to his brother and envoy Jordan, urgently invited him and he left Florence on September 9, 1420. He came, escorted by many nobles with troops, by way of Viterbo and along the Via Cassia.[1] His approach produced great excitement in the city. It was Rome who, by her clamorous desire to have a Roman for pope, had been the actual cause of the schism. The schism was now ended, and a Roman of her foremost family had become Pope. A long history of indescribable suffering seemed to be expiated, and a new period of splendour, although without freedom, had apparently dawned.

Martin V. enters Rome, Sept. 29, 1420.

On Sept. 28, Martin arrived in Rome, where the sacred chair now really and for ever returned. He spent the night in S. Maria del Popolo, and not until Sunday, September 29, was he conducted by the Romans to the Vatican. He proceeded from the Porta del Popolo through the desolate Field of

[1] It is worthy of remark, that from the time of Urban VI. onwards, Castel Soriano near Viterbo had remained in possession of the Breton bands, who maintained their position until 1420. The castellan *Johes de Magnomonte* surrendered it for 9000 gold florins on July 20, 1420, and received a safe conduct to return home. Theiner, iii. n. 491.

Mars to S. Marco and then to S. Peter's. Roman nobles carried a purple baldacchino over his head and jesters danced before him. In the evening the conservators and captains of regions rode on horseback through the city, with great numbers of the inhabitants bearing torches and shouting "Long live Pope Martin!"[1]

Martin V. found Rome at peace but, owing to pestilence, war, and famine, plunged in such utter misery as scarcely to retain the aspect of a city. The antiquities, the houses, the churches had fallen to decay, the streets—reduced to marshes or filled with rubbish—were scarcely passable. To the Pope the people resembled a crowd of degraded beggars more than the noble burghers of the capital of the world. The city was still thronged with robbers.[2] An English chronicler of the period was so shocked by its condition as to write: "O God, how pitiable is Rome! Once was she filled with great nobles and palaces, now with huts, thieves, wolves and vermin, with waste places, and the Romans themselves tear

[1] Stephen Infessura, p. 1122.

[2] *Vita Martini V.*, Mur., iii. ii. 864.—*Invenit civit. Ro. pacificam, sed ita inopia laborantem, ut vix prae se civitatis faciem ferret.* Niem, *Chron.*, Eccard, ii. 1456. Following them, Platina (*Vita Martini*): *collabantes vidisses domos, collapsa templa, desertos vicos, coenosam et oblitam urbem. Quid plura? nulla urbis facies, nullum urbanitatis indicium in ea videbatur. Dixisses omnes cives aut inquilinos esse, aut ex extrema omnium hominum fece eo commigrasse.* Infessura: *Roma stava molto scorretta e piena di ladri.*—One of Martin's first acts in Rome was to take a captain with seventy men into his pay to guard the Vatican: *Angelus de Trisacho*, agreement of October 11, 1420, in Theiner, iii. n. 195. This may have been the beginning of the Swiss guard.

each other to pieces."[1] Urban V. and Gregory XI. were terrified on their return by the frightful aspect of Rome; the city, however, still remained a republic under the government of its guilds. Half a century had since passed, during which she fell to the lowest depth of decay. For not alone had the nobility vanished, the middle class had also disappeared, and Rome was nothing but a heap of ruins. The shabby festival of Martin's entry closed the long and memorable period of the mediaeval city and opened a new age, in which Rome issued from her ruins in a new form, imparted to her by the popes, now become her masters. The Vatican, the fortress of the popes, arose, and its rival, the republican Capitol, degenerated into the monument of the liberty of the people and of a second past.

[1] *Chron. Adae de Usk*, p. 88. This Englishman was auditor of the *Rota* in Rome under Boniface IX. and Innocent VII. Wolves made their way into the city, and the chronicler from his dwelling occasionally witnessed their nocturnal fights with the dogs beside S. Peter's.

CHAPTER VII.

1. Culture in the Fourteenth Century—Classic Paganism embraced in the New Learning—Dante and Virgil—Petrarch and Cicero—Florence and Rome.

The fourteenth century put an end to the Middle Ages and shook to the foundations their institutions, which had hitherto endured in their narrow and dogmatic form: the ancient Church, the ancient empire, the feudal monarchy, the communal polity, the scholastic methods of learning. Released from the bonds of caste, of party, and of the scholastic system of thought, man appeared as a personality. He also rent the mystic veil of faith. The powers to which in blind piety he had hitherto rendered submission, he now surveyed with frank and critical gaze. He investigated their origin and their history; he removed them from their mythic spheres to human circumstances, and judged them according to their historic value. The fourteenth century profaned the mediaeval authority of the emperor as that of the pope. While man averted his thoughts from a world beyond, he boldly turned back to the past, in order to supplement with the classic ideal the system of

Christianity, which had sought to educate him solely for heaven. He began to worship the heroes, the poets, the philosophers of Pagan antiquity with the same enthusiastic reverence that he had formerly accorded to the martyrs, apostles, and Fathers of the Church. He revived the forgotten culture of Hellas and Rome; restored the interrupted connection with the ancient world, and impartially accepted the Pagan spirit in his scheme of culture. The renascence of classic learning and art began in the fourteenth century. After the thirteenth had with enthusiasm devoted itself to the study, and obtained an exhaustive knowledge, of Roman law, it turned with equal enthusiasm to the beautiful and philosophic literature of the ancients. It drew forth the treasures of antiquity, which the fifteenth spread with astonishing rapidity, erecting fresh structures on their foundations. The restoration of antiquity to its rights as a permanent power of civilisation, after mankind had completed its education by the Church, is the strongest testimony to the indestructibility of all true culture, and also to the limits of the human mind; for the mass of ideas with which it works is as strangely simple in numbers and substance as the mass of forces in nature. It is only by the combination of such forces that the new is created.

Beginning of the renascence.

The union of two cultures, which the principle of religion placed at variance with each other, could naturally only be the work of the Italians. The conception which arose in Italy in the fourteenth century concerning the unity of human civilisation, corresponded to the idea of the unity of the human race,

symbolised in Church and empire, both of which were creations of the Latin intellect. The quarrel between Church and empire, between Guelfs and Ghibellines, was consequently resolved in the neutral reform of civilisation accomplished by the Italian intellect. The Christian poet reverentially accompanied the Pagan Virgil through the spirit world. If we take them as typical characters of the two human civilisations, the two poets will wander together throughout eternity. But classic Virgil did not reach the end of Dante's dream travels; he remained behind; the Christian has before him a wider range than the ancient.

A time soon came when this profound conception of Dante's was no longer understood. For after the creation of the *Divina Commedia*, the original monument of the mediaeval world, erected on its frontiers, appeared other intellects which with one-sided fervour steeped themselves in ancient Paganism. After Dante came Petrarch, like his predecessor entirely unique in his age owing to the height on which he stood, and consequently to be seen of all; in the sphere of his activity a Columbus, as he has been appropriately called, because he was the reviver of the classic learning which Dante with prophetic glance had foreseen. Petrarch, the genius and the representative of the growth of culture in his century, gave direction to the entire Humanistic period. He opened a wider breach in the Middle Ages than can be described in words. His classic companion was Cicero, as Virgil had been Dante's; and this relation already expresses the width of encyclopedic

and prosaic learning, in which the human intellect already began to expand.[1]

Petrarch. From Petrarch's time enthusiasm for classic studies developed with a force that now appears mysterious. We must not, however, overlook the national impulse that inspired it. The unity and the national independence of Italy found expression in this renascence of antiquity, and the Italian nation thereby recovered intellectual hegemony in the West. Europe has to thank Italy for its modern culture, since from this laboratory of learning the vivifying and creative light streamed over the West throughout two centuries.

By the side of Petrarch, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, shone with a lesser and partly borrowed radiance Boccaccio, Coluccio Salutato, Lionardo Bruni, Poggio Bracciolini. They followed the ideas of the great founder of Humanism into wider spheres of the national life. The highest merits of these as of other discoverers, collectors, translators, and teachers of classic literature are known to all who have bestowed the merest glance on the history of modern learning. We have here only to deal with the attitude in which Rome stood towards this process of intellectual renascence.

A passive and uncreative spirit characterised the city at all times. The great creations of Rome were the two central forms of the world—the Empire and

[1] Concerning his attitude towards Cicero and his knowledge of Cicero's writings, we find much that is instructive in Attilio Hortis, *M. T. Cicerone nelle opere del Petrarca e del Boccaccio*, Trieste, 1878, as well as in Körting (*Petrarca's Leben und Werke*, 1878).

the Church; but the city had never been able to take part in intellectual culture. Modern learning found its centre in Florence, which after the fourteenth century began to take the place of Athens. Its importance for mankind at this period consists in its having been the earliest laboratory of the modern spirit. Its capacity for hegemony in this sense arose from the conjuncture of favourable conditions. The Guelf republican spirit of freedom, which did not accommodate itself to tyranny so quickly as Milan; freedom from the oppression of the principal powers that governed the world, such as the Papacy and the empire; the industrious civic spirit eager for novelty, which equalised the classes and skilfully nurtured an ever-changing political life; a modern soil, unencumbered by the monuments of antiquity; no maritime position such as involved Genoa, Pisa, and Venice in commerce; lastly, an intellectual, enquiring, experimenting character, and a pure and melodious idiom. From the fourteenth century Florence was the model Italian city. We have seen that Rome herself borrowed her political institutions from Florence.

Florence, centre of Italian civilisation.

While this Tuscan city was the epitome of all the life which was coming into being, Rome endured as the venerable monument of the classic world, and to the Italians continually furnished in her ruins documents of the grandeur of antiquity. In the fourteenth century Rome became the subject of philosophic and historic investigation of an entirely new character. Rome, too, had been the sphere in which Dante first envisaged such matters, the foundation of his philosophical theory; since to him, even in ruins,

Rome the monumental city of antiquity.

Rome was the mirror of the world, the eternal centre of the universal monarchy, and the history of the sacred city from its foundation a divine process. On this account Dante said that to him every stone in the walls of Aurelian and the soil on which Rome stood was honoured more than words could describe.[1]

Rome surveyed from the point of view of the antiquary.

If Petrarch called the soil of Rome sacred, because it was saturated with the blood of the martyrs, he only expressed himself thus when the question was one of inducing the pope to return. Actually he regarded the city from the same point of view as Dante. The universal renown of the Capitol induced him to take the poet's laurel there, which he then deposited on the altar of the apostle. The Capitol and S. Peter's, Caesar and Pope thus ever remained the two poles of the universal monarchy and universal civilisation. If in the Middle Ages, however, the city was essentially the goal of the pilgrimages inspired by Christian piety, mankind was now drawn to Rome by the growing power of the historic and scientific impulse. The strength of the city's fascination is acknowledged by schismatic Greeks at the end of the same century. A Byzantine sophist visited it and described it with enthusiasm to his emperor: "Rome is not a piece of earth, but a piece of heaven."[2] Manuel Chrysoloras, the first teacher of Greek

[1] *E certo sono di ferma opinione, che le pietre che nelle mura sue stanno siano degne di reverenzia; e 'l suolo dov' ella siede sia degno oltre quello che per gli uomini è predicato e provato. Convito*, iv. c. 5.

[2] M. Chrysoloras, *Ep. ad Joem Imper. Post Codinum de Originib. Constantin.*, Paris, 1655, at the beginning. See in Poggio, *De Variet. Fort.*, p. 6, a similar dictum, which he attributes to Lucian.

literature in Italy, confirmed the truth of the expression in a letter to the Emperor John, which contains a remarkable comparison of Rome with Byzantium. He extols the ruinous city as the most splendid in the world. He found in it a complete compendium of Latin and Greek antiquity. He surveyed the ruins as a philosopher and student of history; in them he read the power, the majesty, the art, the magnificence of the ancient world, and held the opinion that from the survey of the plastic works which Rome still preserved, the spectator was enabled to comprehend the religion, manners, and customs in war and peace, from mythical times down to the days of the emperors. Like Petrarch, Chrysoloras directed his entire attention to ancient Rome, and only then turned to the Christian city, with its innumerable churches (part of which had arisen from ancient temples), where mankind still made pilgrimages from every part of the former Roman empire.[1]

Manuel Chrysoloras's description of Rome.

We consequently everywhere see how ancient Rome predominated over Christian Rome in the minds of men. The ecclesiastical ideal, moreover, must have waned during the exile and schism of the popes, and the ideal of the ancient world have risen

[1] The conclusion to which Chrysoloras comes, namely, that the Roman empire had only existed in order to prepare the way for the kingdom of the Apostles, is a Latin idea, and is explained by the position in which this Byzantine stood towards the popes. He adds with sarcasm that Peter and Paul had drawn more money from the world and put more in circulation than all earthly monarchs. The letter was probably written in 1408: E. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique*, Paris, 1885, i. p. xxiv.

in equal measure. Inspired by these ideals we have seen Cola di Rienzo arise, the necromancer of political antiquity, whose fall at length destroyed a mediaeval dogma concerning Rome herself. For his delusions were cleared up in the truth; namely, that only those ideas are eternal which intellectually educate mankind, and that the historic form, once shattered, has for ever fallen. The musty parchments of the ancients on which Homer, Plato, and Cicero had left the impress of their brains, revived under a moral process; but from the colossal monuments, on which the Romans had chiselled their names and deeds, reissued neither Brutus nor Fabius, neither Caesar nor Trajan. The problem of the revival of antiquity was now solved in the same city of Florence which, with calm perception, turned away from Cola di Rienzo and prophesied the overthrow of his fantastic works. From the circumstances of Rome herself, it became clear why she remained passive towards intellectual reform. But the new culture, which was prepared in Florence, at length entered Rome in the fifteenth century, as the culture of Athens had entered it in antiquity. Humanist popes ascended the sacred chair; they created a second Augustan age, made Rome once more the treasure-house of learning and art, and under the protection of her world-wide authority gathered as in a centre modern culture and endowed it with a great Roman form.

2. Absence of Culture in Rome in the Fourteenth Century—Condition of the Roman University —Its restoration by Innocent VII.— Chrysoloras — Poggio — Lionardo Aretino — The Colonna — Cola di Rienzo — Caballini de Cerronibus—Beginnings of Roman Archæology —Nicola Signorili — Cyriacus—Poggio — Roman Historiography — Beginning of the Annals of the City—History of the Popes — Dietrich of Niem.

The fourteenth century, endowed with an imperishable lustre by the earliest national works of the Italian genius, offers the historian of Roman culture material barely sufficient to fill a few pages. The intellectual aridity of the city had seldom been so great; it shocked Dante as well as Petrarch. All educational institutions had fallen to decay; the university of Boniface VIII. had expired after a brief existence.[1] After John XXII. no Avignonese pope had bestowed any care upon it, nor had even Cola issued any edict in its favour. Petrarch, the Roman citizen, helped to found the university of Prague, but bestowed not a thought on that of Rome; he bequeathed his valuable library to Venice. The great Albornoz founded an educational institution at Bologna, and Cardinal Nicholas Capocci the Santa Sofia at Perugia, but Rome was entirely neglected. Clement V. founded the university in the Umbrian

[1] Renazzi, *Storia dell' università Romana*, laboriously follows all traces of its life.

capital in 1307; it rapidly prospered, and acquired renown through the two great jurisconsults, Bartolo and Baldo, the last of whom was a Perugian by birth. After the middle of the fourteenth century, the Capitoline magistrate lamented that the University of Rome had fallen to decay, owing to the lack of doctors, and resolved to call in foreign professors for both branches of the law, and for medicine, grammar, and logic. He removed the seat of learning to the quieter district of Trastevere,[1] but we do not know whether any scholar decided to abandon Bologna or Padua to occupy a chair in Rome.[2] The schism must have frustrated all these attempts, and it was not until the time of Innocent VII. that the university was restored on September 1, 1406. The language of his bull already reflects the Humanist tendencies of the time. "There is no city on earth," said the Pope, "more illustrious than Rome, and none where the studies, which we have hitherto desired to pursue, have longer flourished, since in Rome was created Latin literature; civil law was codified and delivered to the nations,—here also is the seat of canon law. In Rome was produced every

The University of Rome is restored by Innocent VII., 1406.

[1] Renazzi, i. n. 34, gives the decree concerning it; and, p. 60, tries to show that the university buildings (*Schola*) near S. Eustachio were sold in the year 1376.

[2] From an epitaph in *S. Salvator de Capellis*, may I venture to assume the continued existence of the faculty of law? *Hic requiescit corpus famosi Legum doctoris Dni Petri Nicolai Jacobi de Urbe Qui obiit A.D. MCCCLXXXXIII. Pont. Dni. Benedicti PP. IX. Ind. I. M. Junii. Die V.* (Galletti, *Inscript.*, ii. 242.) In 1380, the Roman University is mentioned along with others—Note 1 to Chap. V. of this book (p. 588).

kind of learning and doctrine, or borrowed from the Greeks. If, therefore, other cities teach other branches of learning, Rome teaches only her own."[1] Poggio Bracciolini had undoubtedly compiled this bull, the celebrated Humanist having been papal amanuensis since the last year of Boniface IX.[2] He also persuaded the Pope to establish a chair of Greek, and proposed as professor, Chrysoloras, who had been his own teacher.[3] The language of Homer, which had formerly been preserved by Basilian monks and the Schola of the Greeks, had now vanished; Petrarch found no one in Rome who understood it. That Chrysoloras, who had awakened a fervent enthusiasm for Greek in Venice and Padua, and still more in Florence, actually accepted a professorship in Rome, is not unlikely, since he remained in correspondence with the papal court even after the time of Innocent VII.[4] He died, however, as early as April 1415 at Constance, whither he had accompanied Cardinal Zabarella. Poggio himself and Lionardo Aretino, through whose influence he had become apostolic secretary, may have temporarily taught at the university in Rome. But the disturbances under Gregory XII. did not allow the university to prosper; the Roman Sapienza fell to

[1] Bull, *Ad exultationem urbis, dat. Romae ap. S. Petr. Kal. Septbris Pont. A. II.* Renazzi, *Append.*, ad lib. ii. n. 1.

[2] Bonamici, *De claris Pontificiar. Epistolar. scriptorib*, Rome, 1753, p. 83.

[3] *Erit denique—ut nihil nostro desit studio, qui Literas Graecas, omnesque ejus linguae auctores perfectissime doceat.* Foregoing bull.

[4] E. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique*, Paris, 1885, i. p. xxv.

decay and never revived until permanently restored by Eugenius IV. in 1431.[1]

The moral decay of the eternal city is shown by the insignificant number not only of literary men, but also of men of general mark. In the fourteenth century there was not a single Roman among the popes; but few Romans among the cardinals. Even these princes of the Church themselves dwelt in distant Avignon; such were John Colonna, Napoleon Orsini, Jacopo Stefaneschi, and Nicholas Capocci.[2] The first half of the century is richer in famous names than the second, when those of Colonna and Orsini are conspicuous among leaders of mercenaries.[3] To the writings of Petrarch, the Colonna of his time almost exclusively owed their posthumous renown, and we can now no longer judge how far the praise of culture, which he awarded them, was well founded. Beside the Colonna and the house of Orsini, Petrarch

[1] Niem, *De Schism.*, ii. c. 39, says of Innocent VII.: *Generale studium in ipsa urbe renovavit, quod eo defuncto statum evanuit.* There were always, on the other hand, distinguished physicians, even Jews, to whom the Senate occasionally accorded the right of citizenship, thus to Elias Sabbati in 1405. Theiner, iii. n. 82. Concerning the Jewish medical attendants of the Pope, see Marini, *Archiatri*, &c.

[2] The *Vita* of Nicol. Capocci in Mur., viii. ii. 64. He was buried in the chapel of S. Lorenzo. The Roman cardinals, when they died abroad, generally left instructions that they were to be buried in Rome.

[3] A Landulf Colonna, Canon of Chartres in the time of John XXII., wrote a treatise, *de Translatione Imp. a Graecis ad Latinos* (in Schardius, *Sylloge*, p. 284), and a universal chronicle or *Breviar. Historiale*, which is unpublished. Tiraboschi, v. 343, and Fabricius, *Bibl. Med. et infim. Latin.*, vol. iv. Ugo Balzani, "Landolfo e Giov. Colonna" (*Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, vol. viii., 1885, p. 223 f.).

numbered among his intimate Roman friends Lello di Pietro of the Stefaneschi, to whom under the name of Laelius he addressed several letters.

Cola di Rienzo as a man of learning.

The most talented Roman, indeed the true intellectual product of the city in the fourteenth century, was a man whose culture we are in a position to estimate, namely, Cola di Rienzo. The historian of Italian literature with perfect right has awarded him a place in his history. His letters and apologiae are also literary monuments. His Latin, written half in the style of a notary, half in that of a priest, could not indeed stand the test of the Ciceronian Petrarch, and the stream of his natural eloquence did not follow classic rules, but was the expression of an original intellect and a mystic cast of mind. This style of Gothic prose, which makes Dante perfectly fascinating, soon disappeared for ever in an elegant Ciceronian style. But in the province of Roman topographical knowledge the Tribune was truly gifted. We may even call him the first archæologist of Rome. He was the first to lift the legendary veil thrown by the *Mirabilia* over the monuments of the city, and to make them subjects of historic survey and inference. He already collected inscriptions which before him no one had been able to decipher;[1] he rediscovered and explained the Lex Regia. Dante evinces no trace of feeling for antiquity; in his *Commedia* he bestows not a glance on the world

Archæology.

[1] In the xiii. *saec.* a schoolman wrote: *olim fiebant sculpturae mirabiles—cum literis punctatis, quas hodie plenarie legere et intelligere non valemus.* De Rossi, *Le Prime raccolte d'antiche iscrizioni compilate in Roma*, Rome, 1852, p. 4.

of ruins in Rome. After him Petrarch indeed collected coins of the emperors, but was unable to read Roman inscriptions; he believed the Pyramid of Cestius to be the tomb of Remus, and the Column of Trajan the grave of that emperor. Cola di Rienzo was the first to decipher inscriptions on the monuments, and was the actual founder of antiquarian studies. The greatest scholar in the domain of Christian antiquity at the present day has striven to prove that the gifted popular Tribune founded the first collection of Roman inscriptions that had been made since the collection of the *Anonymus* of Einsiedeln. He has shown that this collection belonged not to Nicola Signorili, the civic secretary under Martin V., but to Cola di Rienzo, and that Cola must have compiled the little book *Descriptio urbis Romae ejusque excellentiae*.[1] He was, consequently, the first investigator who was not satisfied with the *Mirabilia*, while to Petrarch and Chrysoloras the *Mirabilia* had been their only guide to the antiquities.

Another Roman, a contemporary of the Tribune, John Caballini de Cerronibus, probably a relation of Giovanni Cerroni, also compiled (apparently about

[1] De Rossi, *Sull' archaeologia nel sec. XIV.*, *Bull. dell' Inst.*, 1871, at the beginning; the same in the *Inscript. christ. Urbis Romae*, vol. ii. i. p. 316 f. The *Descriptio urbis* is inserted in the MS. treatise, *De juribus et excellentiis urbis Romae*, which was compiled by Signorili at the instance of Martin V. (*Cod. Vat.*, 3536, and a copy in the Colonna Archives). This treatise also contains Cola's theories throughout. De Rossi shows that the *Descriptio urbis* with the collection of inscriptions that belongs to it (MS. in the Chigiana) was compiled between 1344 and 1347. See concerning this, Henzen in *C. I. Latin.*, vi. i. p. xv

the middle of the fourteenth century) a description of the city, based on the *Graphia*. It forms part of a curious work, called *Polistoria*, and its subject was an enquiry into the history of ancient Rome and the virtues of the Romans—a theme entirely in harmony with the age of Cola. The whole is incoherent and fantastic, but it shows the author as a man of unusual culture, who like Cola was conversant with the writings of the ancients as with those of the Church. John Caballini in his work calls himself Scriptor of the Apostolic Church and Canon of S. Maria Rotunda. His description of the city, so far as we can trace, is a compilation from and at the same time amplification of the *Mirabilia*, to which he adds many of his own comments and contemporary notes, and the work displays a remarkable attempt to combine mediaeval legend with antiquarian learning.[1]

After Cola and de Cerronibus a distinguished

[1] There is a parchment MS. of the fourteenth century at Novara and another at Wolfenbüttel. Morelli was the first to make known the former, *Sopra alcuni codici delle Bibl. capitolari di Novara e Vercelli*, Parma, 1802, pp. 29–39. From the second Urlichs (*Cod. Urbis Romae Topogr.*, p. 133 f.) published fragments of the description of the city. According to A. Graf (*Roma nella Mem. del Medio Evo*, i. 73) the *Cod. Novar.* is also a copy, produced at the instance of Giov. di Capogallo, Abbot of S. Paul near Rome before 1398, then Bishop of Novara. The title of this Codex runs: *Incipit prologus polistorie Joannis Caballini de Cerronibus de urbe, ap. sed. scriptoris ac Canonici S. M. Rotunde de ead. urbe. De virtutib. et dotib. Romanor. ipsorumq. imperatoris et pape singularibus monarchiis. De aliis incidentiis eorundem.*—It is surprising that the compiler never mentions Cola di Rienzo. That he made use of the *Graphia*, he says himself: *Graphia aureae urbis stante in eccl. S. Mae. Nove de urbe quam vidi et jugiter legi* (Graf, p. 76). A MS. of the *Graphia* was consequently preserved in S. M. Nova (at the Arch of Titus).

Paduan physician and mechanician surveyed the monuments of the city with scientific eye; this was Giovanni Dondi, surnamed dall' Orologio, owing to the invention of a marvellous timepiece. He also visited Rome about 1375; took the measure of the ancient buildings, the Column of Trajan, the Pantheon, the Vatican obelisks, the Colosseum, the basilicas of S. Peter and S. Paul, and at the same time copied some inscriptions of temples and triumphal arches.[1]

We here come to the end of the few historiographic writings produced in Rome in the fourteenth century. To these Roman literature at this period is restricted. When the city remained abandoned to herself and the burgher class became all-powerful, the beginnings of a Roman civic history arose in the form of diaries. These attempts unfortunately remained isolated. In the utter abandonment in which Rome was sunk, had the Capitoline government but given encouragement, some patriotic author might have founded a monument to the Middle Ages, such as the three Villani founded for Florence. Instead of this, however, nothing but some scanty deposits of Roman annals are found dating from the time of the expedition of Lewis the Bavarian. Among these the most important work is *The Fragments of the Roman History* from 1327 until 1355, the chief part of which is formed by Cola's life. Its unknown compiler was an adherent, though not a blind admirer, of the

Roman historians.

[1] The collection of Dondi is contained in a single codex in the Marciana at Venice: De Rossi, *Inscr. Chr. U. Romae*, vol. ii. pars i. 329 f.

Tribune, a Roman of burgher class, without political education, but trained in the knowledge of all the authors. His language (he happily translated the work, which was originally written in Latin, into Italian) does not appear to have been the Roman dialect of his time, but a vulgar idiom, utterly devoid of the melodious grace of the Florentine speech. The greatest charm of the book is its naïve popular style, and the memorable period of which it treats endows it with a high value.[1] If we compare the Roman historians of the fourteenth century with Villani, who was a man of political education, we may judge of the secondary position of Rome in matters of state.

The Florentines had given the impulse to the compilation of Roman annals. We see the attempts, but no author was forthcoming capable of the task.[2] The writing of civic history ceased as soon as the popes returned from Avignon; and only with the fifteenth century was it continued in the form of diaries. The first of these diaries, which comprises the period between 1404 and 1417, is by Antonio Petri, a beneficed priest of S. Peter's, and is written

[1] *Historiae Romanae Fragmenta*, Mur., *Antiq.*, iii. The principal part, *Vita di Cola di Rienzo*, was first printed at Bracciano in 1624, lastly in 1854, by Zefirino Rè. Several manuscripts of this exist in the Roman libraries, also, as in the Chigiana, under the title *Philosophi Romani Hist. sui Temporis*. Unfortunately, some chapters of the work are missing. Papencordt has refuted the doubts of Baluzius as to its authenticity.

[2] The annals of Lodovico Bonconte de' Monaldeschi are spurious: *Fragmenta Annalium Romanor.* of 1328–1340, Mur., xii. The *Diarium Gentilis Delphini ex Archivio Colonna* of 1370–1410 is a fragment. Mur., iii. ii.

in Latin. This uneducated but highly sympathetic priest jotted down matters that were of daily interest; and his accurate statements consequently possess the value of a local gazette.[1]

Historians of the Papacy.

The Romans took no part in the history of the Papacy. The works of ecclesiastical history compiled by Ptolemy of Lucca, whose labours extend to 1312, those of Bernard Guidonis, who died in 1331 as Bishop of Lodève, and whose book ends with John XXII., further, the French Augustinian Amalricus Augerius, chaplain to Urban V., whose chronicle of the popes extends to 1321, do not belong to Rome. The lives of the Avignonese popes were written by Frenchmen, and not until the return of the sacred chair was the ancient *Book of the Popes* continued, and then with great meagreness.[2] On the other hand, the schism found a contemporary historian in Dietrich of Niem or Nieheim. This Westphalian came to Avignon in 1372, entered the service of Gregory XI., accompanied the pope to Rome and remained henceforward, with some interruptions, in the position of a scriptor to the Roman Curia. The foremost

Dietrich of Niem.

[1] *Diar. Romanum Antonii Petri ab A.* 1404–1417, Mur., xxiv. The author also notes the deaths and births of his relations. He breaks off his daily records with the sentence: *multum esset scribendum quod dimitto in calamo.* This diary reveals the patriarchal simplicity of the Romans, some remains of which are still preserved.

[2] The *Vitae Papar. Avenionens.* was first published by Bosquet, then by Baluze (Paris, 1632, 1693), Muratori, iii. ii., and Papebroch, Propylaea for May of the *Acta Sanctor.* The continuation of the *Book of the Popes* is contained in the *Additamenta* to *Ptolem. Lucensis* from Gregory XI. to Martin V. (Mur., iii. ii.). Eccard, *Corp. Hist.*, i., without any grounds, ascribes them to Theodoric of Niem as official secretary.

scholars had already entered the influential office of "abbreviators"; in the fifteenth century this office passed entirely into the hands of the Humanists. Urban V. had already striven to induce Petrarch to undertake it. The celebrated Colutius Salutatus was secretary to this pope and to Gregory XI. before he became Chancellor of Florence in 1375, and Dietrich of Niem afterwards became the companion in office of Poggio and Bruni. His patron, Urban VI., relied on the conscientiousness of the Germans and consequently took into his service Niem's compatriot, Gobelinus Persona, the author of the *Cosmodromium*, which is a chief source of history for this period.[1] These two Westphalian scholars even followed Urban to Naples. Profoundly versed in the conditions of the Curia, Niem was pre-eminently qualified to write the history of the schism. The events and persons from Gregory XI. to John XXIII., with whom he entered Constance, had passed before his eyes. He died at Maestricht in 1418. His works were compiled during the latter years of his life and consequently contain many chronological errors. Not distinguished by the elegance of a Poggio or an Aretino, he yet possesses great natural freshness, a sound judgment, and a

Gobelin Persona.

[1] The biographies of these two Westphalians are given in vol. vi. of the *Zeitschrift für Vaterländ. Gesch. und Altertumkunde Westphalens*, Münster, 1843. Gobelin returned from Genoa to Germany in 1386. See, concerning him, E. A. Bayer, *Gobelinus Persona*, Leipzig, 1874. The life of Dietrich of Nieheim, with a review of his writings, by H. B. Sauerland, Göttingen, 1875; Lindner, "Beiträge zu dem Leben u. den Schriften Dietr. von Niem," *Forsch. z. deutsch. Gesch.*, 1881; G. Erler, *Dietr. v. Nieheim*, Leipzig, 1887.

quick observation. His enemies have accused him of exaggeration and disrespect to the popes; but was it possible for the Papacy of this age to inspire upright men with any other sentiment? The writings of Niem, a liberal-minded German, anxious for reform, are one of the most valuable monuments of the period. His style of treating contemporary history has nothing in common with the old methods of the chroniclers; in his work, *On the Schism*, the memorable occurrences of his time already find due individual expression.[1]

3. Decadence of the Arts in Rome—The Stairs of Aracoeli — The Hospital at the Lateran—Restoration of Basilicas—Ruin of the Lateran Palace—Urban V. begins the rebuilding of the Lateran Basilica—The Gothic Tabernacle —The Heads of the Apostles—Restoration of S. Angelo by Boniface IX. — The covered Passage — Fortification of the Palace of the Senators by the same Pope—Coats of Arms on this Building — Decay of Painting — Pietro Cavallini — Monumental Sculpture — Gravestones — Paolo Romano—Monuments of Cardinals: Philip d'Alençon; Pietro Stefaneschi Anibaldi; Marino Vulcani.

Even more insignificant than the literary was the artistic culture of Rome in the fourteenth century.

[1] The Church has placed Niem's writings on the Index. His work *De Schismate* was first printed in Nuremberg in 1532. Niem's writings have been collected by Sauerland and Erler.

Its remarkable development in the latter half of the thirteenth century was suddenly interrupted by the Avignon exile. The school of the Cosmati fell to decay; Giotto's influence vanished; no task of any importance gave occupation to the now hungry artists.

Building of the staircase of Aracoeli, 1348.

The building of the lofty staircase of Aracoeli was the only product of Roman architecture during the whole of the Avignon period. This staircase, formed of 124 marble steps, was begun on October 25, 1348, as a votive offering to the Madonna of the Church, since to her image was ascribed the city's deliverance from pestilence.[1] In later times it was asserted that the marble steps from the Temple of Quirinus had been removed for the purpose; this temple, however, is shrouded in entire silence during the Middle Ages. The steps are dissimilar and are probably the spoils of more than a single monument. Some were originally Christian gravestones, as half-effaced inscriptions still show; whether already employed in the original construction or in later restorations, we do not know.[2] Cola may have

[1] The contemporary inscription, now built into the wall beside the door of the church of Aracoeli, says: MAGR. LAVRENTIVS. SYMEONI ANDREOTTII. ANDREE. KAROLI. FABRICATOR. DE ROMA. DE. REGIONE. COLVPNE. FVNDAVIT. PROSECVTVS. EST. ET CONSVMAVIT. VT. PRINCIPAL. MAGR. H. OPVS. SCALARVM INCEPT. ANO. D. MCCCXLVIII. DIE. XXV. OCTOBRIS.—According to the *Diar. Gentilis Delphini*, p. 841, the costs of the staircase, amounting to 5000 florins, were defrayed by small contributions.

[2] Andr. Fulvius, *Antichita di Roma*, p. 80, has borrowed from Pomponius Laetus the statement concerning the sack of the Temple of Quirinus. The outside staircase of the Palace of the Senators was,

ascended this magnificent marble staircase when he entered the Capitol on his second term of rule; but previously some inconvenient path of ascent must have led to the beautiful Church of the Senate.

Lateran Hospital.

Contemporary with this work is the hospital of the Confraternità of the Salvator ad Sancta Sanctorum at the Lateran.[1]

During the papal sojourn at Avignon the wealth that popes and cardinals had formerly spent in Rome flowed to the city on the Rhone, where the huge papal fortress swallowed untold millions. The despairing cries of the Romans over the ruin of their basilicas occasionally obliged the French popes to restore them. Benedict XII. set apart 50,000 gold florins for the purpose.[2] In 1341 this pope had the roof of S. Peter's restored. During the process of restoration a beam belonging to the time of Constantine was asserted to have been discovered, and

he says, also rebuilt with the stones of this temple. *Quidam Otto mediolanensis senator urbis expoliavit templum* (*Quirini*) *et ex ornamentis facti sunt gradus in Aracoeli et gradus quib. ascenditur in aedificium Capitolii.* De Rossi, "Note di Topogr. Romana raccolte dalla bocca di Pomponio Leto" (*Studi e Docum. di Storia e Diritto*, A. iii., 1882, p. 60). When the staircase was restored in the sixteenth century, marble from the Quirinal was certainly used; and it was pretended that the foundations of the Temple of Quirinus had been discovered in a vigna. Lucius Faunus, *De Antiquit. urbis Romae*, p. 97.

[1] *Hospi. Salva. Refugium. Pauper. Et. Infirmor. Hoc. Opus. Inchoatum. Est. Tempore. Guardianatus. Francisci. Vecchi. Et. Francisci. Rosati. Prior. Sub. Anno. Domini. MCCCXLVIII. Ind. VII. Mens. Septbr.* Inscription on the marble doorway.

[2] *Vita III. Benedicti XII.*, p. 219.

Roman nobles ordered dishes to be made from the wood.[1]

On the return to Rome of Urban V., Vatican and Lateran, palaces as well as basilicas, stood in ruins. True, that from the time of Clement V. the popes had endeavoured to restore the Lateran palace; their ancient dwelling no longer existed; and on their return they permanently took up their abode in the Vatican. The venerable palace of Constantine remained in ruins until Sixtus V. caused a new palace to be erected. On the other hand, Urban V. undertook the restoration of the Lateran basilica, which had been destroyed by a second fire in 1360. He entrusted this work to the architect Giovanni Stefani of Siena.[2] The restoration was so complete and prolonged for such a time that the ancient character of the basilica of Sergius III. entirely disappeared. The monument of Urban V. is the still existing lofty Gothic tabernacle of white marble over the High Altar, supported by four granite columns, which are adorned with sculptures and pictures. Gregory XI. finished the decorations, and later popes lavishly adorned it.[3] Urban there deposited the legendary heads of the princes of the Apostles, which

Restoration of the Lateran basilica.

[1] *Hist. Roman.*, Mur., *Ant.*, iii. p. 277. An ancient marble tablet in the Vatican crypt says: *Benedictus PP. XII. Tholosanus. Fecit. Fieri. De. Novo. Tecta. Hujus. Basilice. Sub. Anno. Dni. MCCCXLI. Magister. Paulus. De. Senis. Me. Fecit.*

[2] Letter to Florence, *dat. R. ap. S. Petr. VI. Id. Dec. A. VIII.*, Gaye, *Carteg.*, i. 74.

[3] Agincourt, *Sculture*, tav. xxxvi. More precise information in Valentini, *Basil. Lat.*, i. 45. Berna of Siena is said to have painted the frescoes.

according to tradition S. Sylvester had preserved in the chapel Sancta Sanctorum. He enclosed them in silver busts, works of the goldsmith Giovanni Bartoli of Siena, of barbarous form, as we may judge from illustrations. Charles V. of France caused them to be adorned with precious stones.[1] It was with feelings of mistrust that, on his return to Avignon, Urban left such valuable treasures behind in Rome, where Senate and people could turn their admiring gaze on the diamond lilies and massive gold and silver. He placed these treasures under the protection of a bull.[2] The threatened excommunication affrighted Baldassare Cossa and the Neapolitans perhaps, but not the Lateran clergy themselves, who stole the jewels in 1434. The French republicans at the end of the eighteenth century destroyed the memorials of a pious French pope, and the present silver busts are merely copies of the originals (made in 1804).

The heads of the Apostles.

The schism interrupted the restoration of the city, and it was only under Boniface IX. that two buildings were undertaken—S. Angelo, which had been destroyed in 1379, and the Palace of the Senate. The pope caused the Mausoleum of Hadrian to be rebuilt in the form of a tower by Nicolò of Arezzo after 1395.[3] John XXIII. had the fortress connected

[1] The two busts weighed 1200 marks of silver and cost 30,000 florins. Illustrations are given in Papebroch, *Conatus*, ii. 92, with their inscriptions, and in Soresinus, *De Capitib. S. Petri et Pauli*, Rome, 1673.

[2] Montefiascone, July 28, 1370, Theiner, *Cod. Dipl.*, iii. n. 384.

[3] Niem, *De Schism.*, i. c. 2. In 1395 Boniface IX. issued a prohibition forbidding the plundering of the ruins of the mausoleum. Ray-

with the Vatican by means of a covered passage. Such a passage, however, must have already existed, since Niem remarks that adulteresses and other women suffering penance had been built up in the wall that connected the palace and the fortress; further, that it was already in use, prisoners being occasionally conducted this way from the palace to S. Angelo. The earliest construction of the corridor probably dates from Nicholas III.[1] It was rebuilt by John XXIII.[2] Restoration of S. Angelo.

The Senate house was also converted into a fortress by Boniface IX. This palace, which as early as the thirteenth century was the seat of the senators, already appears on the gold bulls of Lewis the Restoration of the Senate house.

nald, n. 17. Sauerländer, "Die Zerstörung der Engelsburg unter Urban VI." (*Mit. des Inst. für österr. Gesch.*, 1887, vol. vii. p. 620). The *Diar. Gentilis*, p. 843, gives 1403 as the year of the building. Blondus, *Historiar. Dec.*, ii. 300 : *additis circa moenibus et turri in medio excitata restituit in eam, quae nunc, arcem omnium munitissimam.*—In 1430 Poggio still saw the inscription over the door of entrance. The powder explosion in 1497 destroyed the form that S. Angelo had received under Boniface IX.

[1] So says a Codex of the *Mirabilia* compiled in the time of John XXIII. (*Flor. Magliab.*, 53, xxviii.) . . . *per Nicol. P. III. de Ursinis, quando castrum—Crescentii—et decursum fecit a palatio suo usq. ad castrum praed. quod nunc Joannes XXIII. restauravit.* The foundations of this corridor consist of blocks of peperino.

[2] Niem, *Vita Johis XXIII.*, p. 25, shows that the passage already existed. *Ac muros antiqui burgi S. Petri de ipso ej. palatio usq. ad castr. S. Angeli, ut de eod. palatio ad—castrum quando vellet per eund. murum intrinsecus per quend. meatum transire, ipsumq. transeuntem nemo videre posset, non paucis sumptib.—fecerat reparari. In illo muro seu meatu consueverunt olim ad perpet. poenitentiam agendam includi adulterae et aliae publicae peccatrices aliquae ipsar. vid. invitae, ac aliae voluntariae, multaeq. de fidel. eleemosynis sustentabantur toto temp. vitae suae.*

Bavarian as a two-storied fortress-like building with arched windows, an arched entrance door, approached by a staircase and flanked by two towers, a stronger and a weaker. The work of Boniface IX. in 1389 can consequently have been nothing more than a comprehensive restoration, and must have consisted in fortifications such as those Cola had already planned. When in 1404 Innocent VII. again made the Capitol a communal palace, the transformation may easily have been accomplished by demolishing the fortifications.[1] It was the custom for podestàs and heads of republics to affix their coats of arms—sculptured or painted—to the walls of communal palaces. Wherever such exist we find these armorial bearings dating as far back as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Roman Senate house was covered with them.[2] Owing probably to the restoration of Sixtus IV. these monuments have unfortunately vanished from the Capitol, at the left side of which only some later arms of senators and popes have been preserved. As early as the fourteenth century, the salt stores of the city were kept in the ancient vaults of the Senate house. The first mention of this fact is in the year 1404, and refers to an already long-established usage. The vaults of

[1] Niem, *De Schism.*, ii. c. 14.—Treaty between Innocent VII. and Rome, A. 1404. I cannot accept the opinion expressed in the description of the city of Rome, iii. i. 103, that it was Boniface IX. who built the corner towers. Nibby, who says this, asserts that he saw the coat of arms of this pope on the towers; it may have been affixed there after some restoration.

[2] The *Diar. Antonii Petri.*, p. 1040, relates that the Senator Nicol. de Thiano had his arms in marble placed there in 1413.

the Tabularium still bear traces of the corrosive deposits of salt.[1]

The same causes that checked architecture in Rome also checked painting and sculpture. The age of Giotto, which extended to 1336, beheld talented artists, such as Taddeo Gaddi and Orcagna, Simone Memmi and Ambrogio di Lorenzetto, and Rome herself derived widespread renown from her native painters. The solitary name of Pietro Cavallini, who was sculptor and architect, here fills the history of painting in the age of the Cosmati, and in the first half of the fourteenth century. Vasari wrongly holds this Roman to have been Giotto's pupil and fellow-worker in the mosaic picture of the Navicella; he was, on the contrary, older than Giotto, but his life is hidden in obscurity and his works have been almost obliterated by time.[2] In the beginning of the fourteenth century he still probably painted in several churches of the Trastevere, more especially in S. Maria, where his mosaics, forming the lower row in the tribune, are still preserved.[3] In these

Pietro Cavallini.

[1] The civic treaty of 1404 speaks of the salt magazine. Poggio also, *De Varietate Fort.*, p. 8, calls the *Tabularium* about 1431 *publici nunc salis receptaculum;* he found the inscription of Q. Lutatius eaten away by salt.

[2] His life by Vasari is untrustworthy. As early as 1270, six years before Giotto's birth, Cavallini erected the tomb of Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey. D. Salazaro, *Pietro Cavallini Pittore Scultore ed Architetto Romano del XIII. secolo, nota storica*, Napoli, 1882. He was working in Naples about 1308. Schnase, v. 415. He probably also painted in S. Francesco at Assisi, where a Deposition from the Cross is ascribed to him.

[3] G. Navone, "Di un musaico di Pietro Cavallini in S. M. in Trastevere," *Archiv. d. Societ. Romana*, vol. i. 218.

excellent works mosaic painting took leave of Rome; they are the greatest achievements of this venerable art until the appearance of the modern mosaics in S. Peter's.[1] More perhaps than anything else is to be deplored the loss of a picture by Cavallini in Aracoeli which illustrated the legend of Octavian and the Sibyl.[2]

Sepulchral monuments.

Sculpture at this period can show a greater number of works than painting, since the pious custom of honouring the dead with monuments continued uninterrupted. Christian sculpture, the only art which never arrived at the perfection attained by the ancients, originated with the sarcophagus, and its highest achievements in the time of Michael Angelo are represented in some sepulchral monuments. The chief activities of the Roman sculptor were expended on gravestones. We have commented on the style of these in the thirteenth century. It remained traditional, although each century left its peculiar impress in design and alphabetical character. Tombstones with figures engraved or in relief are numerous in the beginning of the fourteenth century in Rome, where marble in

[1] He also painted S. Maria in fresco. According to Vasari, he painted in other churches in Trastevere as well. The mosaic on the façade of S. Paul's was also due to him (Agincourt, tav. 125), and with the assistance of Arnolfo of Florence he made the marble tabernacle of the high altar in this church. He was buried in S. Paul's, but in what year is uncertain. His funeral epitaph is well known: *Quantum Romanae Petrus Decus addidit urbi—Pictura Tantum Dat Decus Ipse Polo.* Salazaro, *l.c.*, p. 8.

[2] Vasari says that this masterpiece of Cavallini still existed in his time. The ancient tribune was destroyed under Pius IV., in order to construct the choir.

abundance was forthcoming in all periods. They belong to all classes. We see before us clergy, knights, notaries, noble women, merchants, magistrates, even senators. Towards the end of the century the low reliefs of these slabs are surrounded with greater ornament. A Gothic tabernacle frequently enclosed the head of a dead person.[1] The inscriptions remained invariably Latin; the letters were the so-called Gothic with many variations. The renascence writing, that is to say, the return to the Roman lapidary characters, is seen in the beginning of the fifteenth century, but the Gothic still remained beside it.[2]

[1] Gravestones: of the notary *Fusci de Berta* (he died 1317) in *S. P. in Montorio;* of *Petrus Alli de Allis* (1310) in Aracoeli; of the knight *Gregor. Charanzonis* (1347) in *S. Martino ai Monti;* of the knight *Joh. Carboni* of Naples (1388) in S. Prassede (a good work in high relief); of the merchant *Lellus Magdaleno* (1390) in the Minerva. That of the canon *Petrus de Surdis* (1400) in S. Cecilia. That of the Senator *Petrus Lante* (1403) in Aracoeli. Of the Cardinal *Aguzzoni* (died 1412) in *S. Francesca Romana.* Of a pilgrim in S. Prassede. The monuments of the Middle Ages daily disappear in the restoration of the churches; nor does anyone think of providing a museum for their preservation. Recently I have witnessed the disappearance of the monuments in S. Nicolò in Carcere, in S. Angelo in Pescheria, in the aisles of S. Maria in Trastevere, in S. Maria in Aquiro, in S. Stefano del Cacco.

[2] Not until *saec.* xv. do we occasionally find Italian inscriptions. There is a solitary French epitaph in Aracoeli. *Ici gist feu Jehans Vaillant de Saci en la Diocese de Miaus Bouriois qui trepassa l'an del Incarn. MCCC du mois de Nov. Prie pour lame deli.* The first example of the renascence characters is seen in the monument of Cardinal Adam Aston in S. Cecilia (he died in 1398): it may, however, have been erected later. The gravestone of John de Baczano (who died in 1406) in S. M. in Monterone already displays the renascence characters; on the other hand, the monument of the Cardinal Peter

The distance of the papal court deprived the artist of every great monumental task. No work of art in Rome recalls the memory of the Avignonese popes, if we except the tabernacle in the Lateran and a half-length figure in marble of Benedict XII., erected in the basilica of S. Peter to this restorer of the roof. It is a barbarous work, though undoubtedly a faithful portrait, and may still be seen in the crypt of the Vatican. Only with the return of the sacred chair could artists hope for a new life. Monuments to the schismatic popes were erected in S. Peter's but were destroyed in its reconstruction.[1] That the art of monumental sculpture received an impulse in Rome as early as the end of the fourteenth century is still evident from a series of well-preserved monuments. And as the name of a Roman painter stands at the beginning of the century, so does that of a sculptor —Paolo Romano—stand alone at its close.

Paolo Romano.

According to the date of the death there recorded, the oldest of these monuments is the tomb of Cardinal Philip d'Alençon, a member of the house of Valois, who died in 1397 and is buried in S. Maria in Trastevere. It stands beside a Gothic altar tabernacle, erected by the same cardinal. On the sarcophagus is carved a high relief representing the death of the Virgin and containing numerous figures

Stefaneschi (died 1417) in Trastevere is still written in Gothic; as is also that of Cardinal Peter Fonseca (died 1422) in the crypt of the Vatican. Two coins of Benedict XII., two of Gregory XI., and one of Boniface IX. strangely enough display purely Roman characters, while those of all the other popes of this century bear Gothic.

[1] See my *Grabdenkmäler der Päpste*. A half-length figure of Boniface IX. may be seen in the cloisters of S. Paul's.

—a conception entirely new to Rome, and one between which and the work of the Cosmati many links are missing.[1] Here also stands the monument of that Cardinal Peter Stefaneschi Anibaldi whom Sforza threw into S. Angelo in August 1417. The dead lies in the niche on a sarcophagus, a massive figure; below is the inscription between the armorial bearings—six crescents gules. On the frieze of the sarcophagus are traces of mosaics. The monument is the work of the master Paolo. It is still entirely Roman in style and harmonises with that of the Cosmati, although the Gothic ornament has degenerated into crude and blunt realism.[2] The tomb is a historic monument of the last period of the schism. The cardinal belonged to the greatest family of Trastevere, a family which gave lustre to this then famous quarter. To the Stefaneschi, who ordered the portrait of the Madonna in the tribune of S. Maria, this, the greatest church in Trastevere, probably owed the mosaic of Cavallini.

The grave of Cardinal Marino Vulcani of Naples, who died in 1403, stands in S. Francesca Romana on the Forum. It is of design similar to the former; the upper portion of the sarcophagus, however, dis-

[1] *Francor. Genitus. Regum. De. Stirpe. Philippus. Alenconiades. Hostie. Titulatus. Ab. Urbe. Ecclesie. Cardo. Tanta. Virtute. Reluxit. Vt. Sua. Supplicibus. Cumulentur. Marmora. Votis. Anno. Milleno. Cum. C. Quater. Abde. Sed. I. Ter. Occubuit. Qua. Luce. Dei. Pia. Virgoque. Mater.*

[2] It is a trait of crude realism that the cardinal's hat and the crescent on the coat of arms are coloured red. *Obiit. A.D. MCCCCXVII. M. October. Adi* (!) *Ultimo. Magister. Paulus. Fecit. Hoc. Hopus.*

plays high reliefs of barbarous style, which represent Faith, Charity, and Hope in the form of crowned women. One carries a church, another hands bread to a pilgrim, the third stretches towards a crown floating above her. These figures show a decay in sculpture, but an advance in the principles of composition of relief on the sarcophagi. With this tomb closes the series of monuments of the period. They already touch the age of the renascence, when the churches of Rome became filled with works of ever greater magnificence, from which, however, religious feeling had disappeared.[1]

4. Manners and Customs in the Fourteenth Century—Change from Simplicity to Luxury —Florence and Rome—Costume — Women's Dress—Sumptuary Laws—Taste for Festivals and Public Processions—Alleged Bull-fight in the Colosseum, 1332—Games on Monte Testaccio and the Piazza Navona—The Vassal Cities contribute to the Public Games in Rome—Dramatic Representations — *Ludi Paschales* in the Colosseum.

We complete the meagre description of the intellectual life of the Romans by some account of their manners and customs in the fourteenth century. If we may believe some chronicles, the Italians in the

[1] I again refer to the monument in S. Cecilia of Cardinal Adam Aston (who died on August 15, 1398), and to that of the Senator Bartolomeo Caraffa (died April 25, 1405) in S. Maria on the Aventine. The latter was restored in 1611.

thirteenth century still lived in the rude simplicity of patriarchal conditions. The praise of the simplicity of the Florentines, which Dante places in the mouth of Caccia Guida, and Ricobaldo's eulogy on that of all Italians in the time of Frederick II. may be exaggerated, but it is certain that the development of greater luxury in Italian society only began with the time when the republics attained a greater power and the courts of the tyrants displayed a princely degree of splendour.[1] The appearance of French customs in Italy is noticed since the time of Charles I. of Anjou. Villani traces the striking magnificence of dress in Florence about 1342 to the influence of the French, who had come to the city with the Duke of Athens.[2] The change of manners and fashions is not, however, to be explained solely by historic and visible causes. In every country there is a highly conservative foundation of custom, especially where it is allied with ecclesiastical ritual, while other forms change as it were in a night. In order to interpret the cause of these social metamorphoses, it is necessary to trace the blending of all the component elements. But since this is impossible, we are as a rule accustomed to consider the character of the age as represented in the century taken as a whole.

Change of manners.

About the time of the change of customs in Florence a similar change is also perceptible in Rome. A Roman chronicler says that men began to alter their dress, which, following Catalan fashion,

[1] *Paradiso*, xv.; Ricobald. Ferrar., Mur., ix. 247.

[2] Giov. Villani, xii. c. 4.

was made closer fitting; that people began to wear hats on their heads and to hang pockets to their girdles after the manner of pilgrims, and that the round beard, hitherto peculiar to hermits and Spaniards, became the mode.[1] The loose dress, which had been considered appropriate, and which Villani calls the toga fashion, in the fourteenth century made way for the tight-fitting patch-work costume of bright colours, such as we see in ancient Florentine pictures.[2] It was called the mode of Cyprus, and was worn even by women. Their dresses, very wide at the bottom, were tight above the girdle and cut so low as to leave the breast almost bare.[3] Gravestones are our only authorities for the dress of Roman civilians. Not a single stone, however, shows us a bearded face during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which proves that the custom of wearing a beard, considered unfitting, was rarely adopted, or was not allowed on any likeness of the dead. Neither does any gravestone depict the tight-fitting costume; the dead all appear wearing the loose dress, generally buttoned from top to bottom, which was in nowise a shroud, but the dress actually worn when living. The berretta also invariably appears on the effigy of every male figure.[4]

Costume.

[1] *Fragm. Hist. Roman.*, Mur., *Antiq.*, iii. c. 9. The Roman chronicler speaks in general, and only confirms the opinion of Villani.

[2] The colours were divided; for example, one stocking was red, the other yellow. Hence the expression *Divisa*.

[3] See the description of the costume of Piacenza about 1388, in Giacomo Musso, Mur., xvi. 579.

[4] The berrettas are frequently of singular form, as for instance

Women wore lavish ornament of gold, jewels, and pearls, and even dresses were embroidered with these costly decorations. The materials were cloth, linen, silk, and velvet; the colours harsh and decided. In vain magistrates issued sumptuary laws. Custom is a power that laws never overcome. As early as the thirteenth century, Cardinal Latinus, as legate of the Romagna, prohibited long trains under penalty of the loss of absolution. "This was to women bitterer than death." He commanded them to veil themselves modestly. They raised an outcry; then appeared in the finest veils worked in gold, more seductive than before.[1] The signory of Florence forbade women to allow thick plaits of white or yellow silk to hang over the face and (in 1326) they assailed the Duchess of Calabria with entreaties, until on her request the prohibition was revoked.[2] In order to preserve republican moderation and to check impoverishment, the Florentines and other republics issued laws against expenditure.[3] The

Sumptuary laws.

with wings at the sides, and cannot be described. The cloths worn by women on the head are similar to the present headdress of the contadine on the Campagna.

[1] *Chron. Salimbene*, p. 54. The women *trahebant caudas vestimentor. per terram longas per brachium et dimidium. De quib. dixit Pateclus: Et drappi longhi, ke la polver menna.* As to-day.

[2] Villani, x. c. 11. A contemporary, Francesco da Barberino, wrote the book, *Del reggimento e de' costumi delle Donne*, which shows the progress of society. It was for this period what the Corteggiano of Count Castiglione was for later times.

[3] Villani, x. c. 150. Law of April 1330; no woman was to wear a train more than two ells long; nor diadems of gold, silver, or pearls; no net for the hair; no embroidered or painted dress; not more than two rings.—Sumptuary laws of Pistoja of 1332 in Guglielmo

Romans followed, adopting at the same time their fashions and their sumptuary laws. The dress of the Roman ladies was moreover so magnificent as to call forth the admiration of the Queen of Hungary, mother of Lewis, on her visit to Rome in 1343.[1] Nevertheless the luxury of Rome could not compete with that of other cities, owing to her absence of wealth. The lavish banquets which Cola gave the people were assuredly unusual events. But the Romans surpassed all other Italians in their taste for pomp and splendour. Even in the Middle Ages Rome was the only city where great spectacles were given, and these were kept up by the coronations of emperors and popes and by the ceremonies of the Church.

Roman processions.

Even the Roman magistracy shone in processions, which, owing to the nimbus that encompassed them, were more solemn than similar processions in other republics. A Roman procession of the time of Cola would offer a splendid spectacle in our age of military monotony. We possess a minute description of a pomp of the Roman magistrate dating from Avignonese times.[2] Frequent processions of the

Mansi, *Discorso sopra gli spettacoli, le feste ed il lusso degli Italiani nel sec. XIV.*

[1] *Histor. Roman. Fragm.*, p. 317. The queen drove with four horses; with her sat eight countesses; all eyes were fixed upon her. The carriage was surrounded by fifty knights, who wore gold spurs. The Romans assailed them with so many begging letters, that they speedily decamped.

[2] See in Mur., *Antiq.*, ii. 856, the fragment from *Cod. Vat.*, 6823. The description was probably not compiled until *saec.* xvi. or xvii.

officials on horseback, clad in sumptuous vestments of purple, velvet, and gold, gave the citizens an exalted idea of the organisation of their republic. These processions took place on the reception of the legates of the pope, the emperor, or senators, or on the celebration of the public games.

Roman games.

The games of the Romans, it is true, give no exalted idea either of the culture or of the power of the people. Tournaments were then the fairest festivals connected with the customs of chivalry. But tournaments would never have succeeded in Rome, even had they not been repeatedly forbidden by the Church; nor were they much in vogue throughout the rest of Italy, advanced though it was in civic institutions. We possess the curious description of a bull-fight, which is said to have been given by the Roman nobility in the Colosseum on September 3, 1332. The account says that the rows of seats in the amphitheatre were restored in wood, and, as in ancient times, were divided according to ranks. The noble women sat on balconies covered with red, headed by three ladies, according to the regions in which they lived. The cavaliers who took part wore their ladies' colours and devices on their helmets; such were the following:—"I am alone, like Horatius; I am Aeneas for Lavinia; I am the slave of the Roman Lucretia." On foot, without armour, but with sword and lance, they entered the arena. Each attacked his bull. The fair dames might admire the foolish heroism of their adorers, and weep the eighteen noble youths who lay on the

arena, pierced by the horns of the bulls. The slain were solemnly buried in S. Maria Maggiore and in the Lateran. This account, however, bears every trace of spuriousness, and is probably an invention of the fifteenth century, when the nephews of Sixtus IV., of the house of Rovere, celebrated bull-fights and tournaments in Rome. We doubt whether in 1332 the seats of the Colosseum were still capable of restoration, and whether the arena, filled as it was with rubbish and ruins, could be used for a bull-fight.[1] Contests of other kinds were annually presented in Rome as throughout the rest of Italy. At the same period bloody gladiatorial combats, which Petrarch saw and described, were celebrated before the eyes of the Neapolitan court.[2] Memorable at the beginning of the thirteenth century was the purple fortress at Treviso, in which beautiful women playfully defended themselves and their ornaments against youths. They finally surrendered to these youths, who conquered the treasures with wreaths of flowers, sweetmeats, flasks of balsam, and other amusing trifles.[3] More attractive were the festal

[1] Monaldeschi is the only author who speaks of the bull-fight (Mur., xii.). No chronicler is acquainted with it, nor have I found an epitaph of any of the combatants. The house of Rovere are supposed to have taken part, of whom the chronicler says: *da quello d' Orvieto discese la Casa di Vico, che adesso è la casa di Rovere.* The family of Rovere, however, was only founded by Sixtus IV., who in 1472 gave the city prefecture to his nephew Lionardo. The prefecture had belonged to the house of Vico until 1435. This alone convinces me that the chronicle of Monaldeschi is a fabrication of the time of the Rovere.

[2] *Familiar.*, v. ep. vi.

[3] *Rolandin. Patav.*, i. c. 13.

parties of the Florentines accompanied by music, dancing, and banquets, so often described by Villani and writers of the "Novelle."

There were annual popular games in Rome, celebrated during the carnival season and occasionally at other times at Monte Testaccio and on the Piazza Navona. During the Middle Ages the Roman carnival was far from bearing the character which has made this masked festival so celebrated. The ancient Romans, too, would have looked with surprise on the terribly rude festivity into which the games in the circus had degenerated, and on the Senate, who repaired in pomp to "the hill of Potsherds," and who, solemnly planting the banner of Rome on a meadow, gave the signal for opening the games. A troop of guards walked in front accompanied by the executioner, who brought the block and headsman's axe to terrify evil-doers.[1] Swine, which the Jews were obliged to provide, were bound on cars covered with scarlet. They were rolled down Testaccio, whereupon the shrieking populace fought for their possession. Each region brought a bull decorated with garlands. These bulls were also chased; the Roman women heaped insults on their husbands or lovers if they returned from the games without having won a piece of meat.[2] There were jousts with the lance, and wrestling; and races, such as were customary throughout the rest of Italy, for the prize (*bravium*) of a piece of cloth (*pallium*),

The Roman carnival.

[1] We are informed of this by Adae de Usk, who was an eye-witness about the year 1404. *Chron.*, p. 92.

[2] Adae de Usk, p. 92.

closed the games.[1] Monte Testaccio had belonged, since ancient times, to the Priory of S. Maria on the Aventine, and the Romans paid a gold florin a year for its use. The surrounding plain was a pasture for cattle; the ground on which the festival was celebrated extended to an ancient tower on the Aventine.

The games on the Navona, the ancient Circus Agonalis, also consisted in jousts, and especially in masques, which later in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were celebrated with greater splendour. The regions of the city furnished triumphal cars, on which were represented scenes from mythology and ancient history.

The regions kept experienced performers for both festivals. According to the Statute of 1580, the precise number was seventy-two. Performers also came from other cities, for, as in antiquity, these festivals had also a political significance for Rome. Delegates from the cities, vassal to the Capitol, with their banners and pallia represented to the Romans a shadow of the ancient Latin dominion and the tributary allegiance of subjects and allies. Subject

[1] *Correr il palio.* The remains of this are the races of the Barberi on the Corso in Rome. *Feste e spettacoli di Roma dal sec. X.–XVI.*, Rome, 1861, and Gugl. Mansi, *Bicci Famil. Boccapaduli*, p. 589, give the description of a festival of this kind on August 15, 1372, taken from a chronicle, spurious, it is true, but nevertheless founded on a basis of fact. Races also took place on the Forum from S. Cosma to the Arch of Constantine, in the year 1443 (Infessura). From the time of Paul II. they were run from the Porta del Popolo to S. Apostoli. *Statuta Urbis Romae* (A. 1580, iii. c. 87). According to Adae de Usk, the *bravia* were three pieces of cloth of gold, silver, and silk, which were fastened to a lance.

places were obliged by treaty to contribute to the Roman games. Thus, after 1300, Toscanello yearly sent eight performers, and the Capitol demanded the same tribute from Velletri, Tivoli, Corneto, Terracina, and other communes in Roman territory. These cities resisted this costly symbol of submission, and the popes frequently forbade the senators from extorting by arms the attendance of these delegates at the public games.[1] The expenses of the festival were considerable. The regions of the city as well as the subject places contributed to them and the Jews in Rome paid a yearly tribute of 1130 gold florins ; the extra thirty expressly as a humiliating remembrance of the reward of Judas.[2]

Easter plays.

Dramatic representations of a religious character —the so-called mysteries—were occasionally given at these games. A Roman chronicler relates that

[1] Inscription from Toscanello (vol. v. p. 563 of this history). The Statutes of Tivoli of 1522, lib. i. fol. 14, in the article *De Lusoribus Testacie*, determine that each player is only to receive four florins from the commune. On February 16, 1424, Martin V. released Corneto from the burthen of contributing to the *Ludi Agonis et Testacei*. (Casimiro, *Conventi de' F. Minori*, c. 9.) I cannot trace this festival beyond *saec.* xiii. As early as 1256, Testaccio was called *Mons de Palio* (Nerini, p. 438). In 1271, Gregory X. forbade the vice-senator to force Terracina, Piperno, and Acquaputrida *ut certam comitivam hominum ad Urbem transmitterent causa Ludi de Testaccio* (Vitale, pp. 150, 163). A deed in the Archives of Alatri of July 19, 1241, pledges Collepardo : *faciant perpetuam citadinanzam civitatis Alatrie—guerram, et pacem, et exercitum et ludum.*

[2] Robert I.'s edict of March 11, 1334, concerning this tax on the Jews (Vitale, p. 246). Bull of Boniface IX. of April 6, 1399, Marini, *Archiatri*, ii. 62.—*Statut. Urbis* (a. 1580), lib. iii. c. 87 : *qui triginta in memoriam pretii, quo Salvator nr. D. J. Ch. Judaeis venditus fuit, persolvantur.*

on February 18, 1414, the crucifixion of S. Peter and the execution of S. Paul were represented near Monte Testaccio by the performers (*Jocatores*) of the region Monti. These performers were probably not professional actors, but citizens experienced in the representation of such scenes.[1] The Roman *Ludi Paschales* were celebrated by confraternities, especially by the confraternity of the Gonfalone. It is assumed that similar Passion plays had been given in the Colosseum since 1250. These representations took place at least from the time that this amphitheatre came into the possession of the brotherhood.

Religious plays in the Colosseum.

The confraternity owned a chapel here, dedicated to S. Maria della Pietà, which had been built into the ancient podium. The roof, consisting of former tiers of seats, served as a stage where the Passion was enacted every Easter festival. The throng of spectators was so great that the Colosseum was crowded as in ancient times. In the days when Commodus or Trajan gave his magnificent festivals to the luxurious Romans, no one assuredly ever imagined that a time would come when thousands would crowd the ruinous structure to gaze in pious reverence on the representation of the crucifixion of the Jewish Redeemer on a stage formed of a few tiers of seats.[2]

[1] *Diar. Roman.*, *ad A.* 1414. On the other hand, the representation of the Saviour's birth and the Slaughter of the Innocents given at a banquet at Constance in 1417, when Sigismund was the guest of the English bishops, was probably played by professional actors. Hardt, iv. 1088.

[2] Marangoni, *Mem. del Colosseo*, p. 87; Panciroli, *Tesori nascosti*, p. 111; Adinolfi, *Roma—dï mezzo*, i. 379 f. These Passion plays, in

5. PETRARCH AND THE MONUMENTS OF ANTIQUITY—THEIR DESTRUCTION—LAMENT OF CHRYSOLORAS—THE PUBLIC SCULPTURES IN ROME—DISCOVERY OF THE GROUP OF THE NILE—PETRARCH'S ENUMERATION OF THE ANCIENT BUILDINGS—UBERTI—POGGIO'S ACCOUNT OF ROME—TEMPLES—PORTICOES—THEATRES—CIRCUS—FORA—BATHS—AQUEDUCTS—TRIUMPHAL ARCHES—COLUMNS—MAUSOLEUMS—BRIDGES—WALLS—GATES—HILLS—GENERAL ASPECT OF ROME—THE THIRTEEN REGIONS, THEIR NAMES AND COATS OF ARMS—STREETS NEW AND OLD—DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE—ROMAN ARCADED HOUSES IN THE MIDDLE AGES—GOTHIC IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY—NUMBER OF THE INHABITANTS OF ROME—DESOLATE CONDITION OF THE CAMPAGNA.

In the earlier Middle Ages we have occasionally heard an elegiac lament over the ruin of the city. In the fourteenth century it was Petrarch, who, in the name of Italian national feeling and reverence for antiquity, protested against their destruction. We have seen how he laid the blame of the ruin of Rome on the predatory nobility, who continued the work of destruction begun by their Goth and Vandal forefathers. The aristocracy, however, shared their undoubted guilt with all other Romans who sacked the unprotected antiquities and used or sold to

Destruction of the monuments in Rome.

ottava rima, were printed in Florence in 1500. Of more ancient character is the *Ludus Paschalis* in Pez, *Thesaur. Anecd.*, ii. pars ii. 187. The representation of hell on a bridge in Florence, of the year 1304, is known from Villani, viii. c. 70.

others columns, architraves, marble statues of every kind.[1] The lime-kilns daily devoured innumerable marbles. "The statues," wrote Chrysoloras, "lie broken in the dust, or are reduced to lime, or are used for building. More fortunate are those monuments that are adopted for steps for mounting on horseback, as plinths or as mangers."[2] The learned Greek consoled himself with the thought that many statues lay buried in underwood or dust. They nevertheless had to await their resurrection. The Humanists, however, discovered the classic statues later than the classic codices. The feeling for plastic art did not awake until after the impulse for learning had been satisfied. Petrarch did not bury himself in the contemplation of the beauty of any ancient work of art in Rome. Not until after the ideas of Aristotle and Plato had gained acceptance were Phidias and Praxiteles understood. It was easier, moreover, to extricate manuscripts from the dust of convents than statues from the rubbish of the Thermae. In Poggio's time the celebrated recumbent figure of the Nile was accidentally discovered beside the Minerva, where labourers were

[1] *Petr. Epistola Hortatoria ad. Nicol. Laurent. . . . de vestris marmoreis columnis, de liminibus templorum — de imaginibus sepulchror., sub quibus patrum vestror. venerabilis cinis erat—desidiosa Neapolis adornatur.*

[2] *Non paucus calcis operisque tectorii, vel etiam lapidum vicem alior. aedificationib. nunc praestare videas. Ep. ad Joannem Imp.* Again, in 1534, Paul III. issued an edict against these lime-kilns (Fea, *Rovine*, 376). Vacca saw lime-pits filled with pieces of statues in front of the IV. Coronati (*Mem.*, n. 12). We may read the lament of the Roman Cincius in 1417 (*Diatriba* of Cardinal Quirinus, Brixiae, 1741, p. vii.).

engaged in digging the ground to plant trees. But as the concourse of visitors annoyed the owner of the soil, he calmly re-covered this masterpiece of art in the earth. Fifty years later he would no longer have been permitted to do so.[1]

Remains of statues.

In spite of the destruction waged for centuries, statues still remained in Rome in the fourteenth century, as Cola di Rienzo seems to prove.[2] Was it possible that all these works of art, with the exception of five, had actually perished at the beginning of the fifteenth? For so many and no more does Poggio enumerate as the sole survivors. These five last immortals were the two Horse-tamers, two recumbent figures in the same Baths of Constantine, and lastly, the Marforio on the Capitol. Of bronze statues, the equestrian figure of Marcus Aurelius at the Lateran alone remained, and this Poggio believed to be the statue of Septimus Severus.[3]

Petrarch's lament over the ruin of the monuments.

Even more unfortunate than the statues, which the earth was able to protect, were the architectural monuments, none of which survived to posterity unimpaired like a statue. Hear what Poggio says: "Where are the Baths of Diocletian and the Anto-

[1] *De Varietate Fortunae*, p. 12.

[2] In his first letter from Avignon . . . *quis enim Scipio, quis Caesar, quis Metellus, Marcellus, Fabius—quorum solemnes effigies in preciosis lapidibus sculptas—miramur.* Petrarch once says: *picturae veterum nulla usquam, cum adhuc innumerabiles supersint statuae.* True, he does not directly speak of Rome, but in what other place were there more? (*De Remed. utriusque fort. dial.*, xli.)

[3] *De Variet. Fort.*, p. 21. It was taken for Commodus by Filarete who in 1465 made a small model of this equestrian statue in bronze. This remarkable work is preserved in the Royal Museum at Dresden. *Gazette archeol.*, 1885, tav. 44.

nines, the Cymbrum of Marius, the Septizonium and the Baths of Severus? Further, and to speak only of the greatest works, where are the Forum of Augustus and the Temple of Mars Ultor; where those of Jupiter Tonans on the Capitol, and of Apollo on the Palatine? Where is his portico and where are the Greek and the Latin libraries? Where the other portico and the basilica of Caius and Lucius, and the third portico of Livia and the Theatre of Marcellus? Where is the Temple of Hercules and the Muses of Martius Philippus; the Temple of Diana of Lucius Corneficius, that of the Liberal Arts of Asinius Pollio, the Temple of Saturn of Munatius Plancus; the Theatre of Balbus, the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus? Where are the countless works of Agrippa? Where the many splendid palaces of the princes? Thou findest their names in books. But seek through the city and thou shalt not find any remains at all or else only the most insignificant. If the great Augustus had left nothing behind but buildings, his fame would have perished long ago. And not only have the temples fallen on their builders, but other sanctuaries of piety have either fallen in our time or been so shaken that, except the Pantheon of Agrippa, they are scarcely held together by their own weight."[1] We clearly see that in the fourteenth century, taken on the whole, nothing remained of ancient Rome beyond the fragments that exist at the present day.

It is greatly to be deplored that Petrarch did not describe the city of his time. In a letter to John Colonna

[1] *De remed. utriusq. fort.*, Dialogue 118.

of S. Vito, he seems to have intended to do so, but immediately exclaims: "Whither do I allow myself to be carried? Can I possibly describe Rome on this little sheet?"[1] In his letter he speaks of several monuments and briefly indicates the associations with which each is connected, and he does the same with the sites of Christian legends. He still regards them from the point of view of the *Mirabilia*, and the same style is also followed in the cosmographic poem of *Dittamondo* by Petrarch's contemporary, Fazio Degli Uberti. The poet is accompanied by Solinus, and Rome in the figure of a sibyl shows him some monuments of the city. His knowledge, however, is derived from the *Mirabilia*.[2] No less general is the survey of Rome which Chrysoloras gives in his letter to the Emperor John.

Poggio's description of the monuments of Rome.

It is only through a letter of Poggio that we are able to determine the series of monuments in Rome in the beginning of the fifteenth century. The sentimental attitude in which he regards them and the scenes which he describes are of permanent value as regards the world of ruins in Rome. And here, where we approach the end of this history, the reader may recall Claudian. A thousand years lie between

[1] *Possumne tibi in hac parva papyro Romam designare? Ep. Fam.*, vi. 11.

[2] *Dittamondo*, Venezia, 1501 (an imitation of Dante). Latest editions: Venice, 1820; Milan, 1826. Concerning Fazio: R. Renier, *Liriche edite ed inedite di Fazio degli Uberti*, Firenze, 1883. I note in passing that to the *saec.* xiv. belong the fabulous Italian-Roman histories, several of which are preserved in the Magliabechiana. Thus the *libro Imperiale* of Giov. Bonsignore of Città di Castello; the *Fiorità d'Italia* of Armanno da Bologna; the *Fiorità* of Fra Guido of Pisa; the *Romuleon* of Benvenuto of Imola.

the last Pagan poet, who turned an astonished but already melancholy glance on the slightly-impaired splendour of Rome, and the Florentine reviver of classic antiquity, who, from under the broken pillars of temples on the Capitol, surveyed "the decayed and unrecognisable gigantic body" of ancient Rome. Poggio and his friend Antonius Luscus sighed over the decay of the mistress of the world, who, robbed of the majesty of the empire, had fallen into humiliating servitude. This is an ancient lament, but if its sadness was mitigated to Hildebert of Tours by the solacing survey of the rule of the Prince of the Apostles, who had succeeded to the place of Caesar, these Christian reflections found not the slightest response in the mind of the Humanist Poggio.[1] The city of ruins which he describes is essentially the Rome of the fourteenth century, and his opinion of the remains which still existed entirely harmonises with that of Petrarch.[2] It is important to note the monuments which Poggio saw and mentioned.

Temples.

Temples: the *Templum Pacis* in the Forum (Basilica of Maxentius), already a ruin of three arches

[1] The book *de Varietate Fort.* was written shortly before 1431. The healthy feeling of a Poggio is far removed from the studied description of the ruins of Volney, *assis sur le tronc d'une colonne, le coude appuyé sur le genou, la tête soutenue sur la main.*

[2] *At vero aedificia haec urbis, tam publica, quam privata—partim penitus extincta, partim collapsa atque eversa, relictis admodum paucis, quae priscam magnitudinem servent.*, p. 7. William of Malmesbury had already said: *Roma quae quond. domina orbis terrarum, nunc—videtur oppidum exiguum.* Poggio said: *quond. rer. dominam, nunc non solum imperio majestateque sua spoliatum sed additam vilissimae servituti;* and he dedicated his book to a pope.

and a column, which Paul V. afterwards had removed to S. Maria Maggiore. The Temple of Romulus, or its remains in SS. Cosma e Damiano. The remains of the columns of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, which since remote times had served as a vestibule to the church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda. The remains of the Temple of Venus and Rome beside S. Francesca Romana (then Maria Nuova), wrongly held by Poggio to be the Temple of Castor and Pollux. The Temple of Vesta beside the Tiber. Poggio overlooks that of *Fortuna Virilis*. The Temple of Jupiter Stator (then S. Niccolò in Statera and now no longer in existence). The Temple of Apollo in the Vatican, then S. Petronilla. The Pantheon, which was entirely surrounded by buildings. A great part of the Temple of Minerva beside the Dominican convent, which, under Poggio's very eyes, the Romans destroyed to make lime. The temple with eight columns on the Capitol suffered the same fate.[1] The Temple of Concordia also lay on the ground; Poggio is silent concerning it, and of the Temple of Saturn he beheld only the three columns which, with the other group of three columns on the Forum, he believed to be the remains of the bridge of Caligula. It is uncertain whether all these temples beside the Clivus Capitolinus were already destroyed or existed until Boniface IX. undertook the restoration of the Capitol.[2] From the

[1] He calls it *Concordia*, and the inscription which he quotes, *S.P.Q.R. Incendio consumptum restitiusse*, shows that he meant the so-called Temple of Vespasian (with the eight columns).

[2] The *Description of the City of Rome*, iii. i., appropriately recalls

Tabularium or lower story of the Senate house (at that time the Salt Magazine) Poggio can scarcely have seen more than we see to-day.

Porticoes.

From the porticoes on the Fish-Market and in its neighbourhood he beheld other remains and named them the Temples of Mercury and Zeus. Gardens stood there at this time. The remains of a portico, which have now perished, then existed beside the Quirinal.

Theatres and amphitheatres.

Theatres and Amphitheatres: The Theatre of Marcellus, already only a fragment; the ruins of the Theatre of Pompey, with houses built above it; the Theatre of Balbus and Taurus, which has perished; the Amphitheatrum Castrense, already enclosed in the city walls; the Colosseum, "which the Romans in their foolishness had in great part destroyed to make lime."[1] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Colosseum was surrounded with houses and churches, all of which were built from the materials it provided. Towards the street of S. Clemente stood S. Giacopo del Coliseo (now a hay store); also the churches Salvator de Rota Colisei, Salvator de Insula et Coliseo, and SS. Quadriginta Colisei.[2] Towards the Arch of Titus stood the

the work of Boniface IX., for which a lime-kiln was made at the foot of the Capitol, down to which the marbles of the temples found their way.

[1] *Coliseum vulgo appellatum, atque ob stultitiam Romanor., majori ex parte ad calcem deletum.*, p. 17.

[2] The parish of the church of S. Marie de Ferrariis extended to the Colosseum: *Domum positam extra Coliseum in Parochia Eccl. S. M. de Ferrariis quae dicitur Cripta Balnearia:* Inventory of the property of *S. Giov. avanti porta Latina*, compiled by Nic. Frangipani in the

palace of the Frangipani with buildings connected with the Amphitheatre.[1] As early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Anibaldi had obtained possession of rights over this palace. When the fall of the nobility took place during the Avignon period, the Colosseum became the property of the Roman people, while the buildings of the Frangipani passed to the Anibaldi. After 1366 these buildings were sold to the chapel Sancta Sanctorum, or the Company of the Salvatore at the Lateran,[2] and by a gift of the Senate the same company obtained possession of a third part of the Colosseum in 1381. We may still see the coat of arms of the confraternity sculptured in marble on one of the inner arches, and may thereby conclude that the outer walls on the eastern side had already fallen, perhaps during the earthquake of 1349.[3] The stones were carried away as building material, and (possibly with the sanction of the Senate) many blocks of travertine of the parts which still existed were sold for the

The Colosseum.

time of Boniface VIII., in Crescimbeni, *Istor. della chiesa di S. Giov. a P. L.*, p. 207.

[1] On October 22, 1338, Petr. Riccardi Frangipani *ex dominis castri Cisterne* sold to Ursus Ursini *quartam partem Palatii magni et domor. junctor. coliseo et prope Coliseum. Gaetani Archives*, iii. n. 21.

[2] Adinolfi, *Roma—di mezzo*, i. 374 f.

[3] Marangoni, *Mem. sul Colosseo*, ed. ii. p. 80. The arms are the portrait of Christ between two candelabra, and belong, judging from style, to *saec.* xiv. A fresco, which represents Jerusalem, on an inner arch may also belong to this time. This confraternity may have founded a hospital in the Colosseum; a convent for women probably stood there also. Female penitents undoubtedly had themselves walled up in the Colosseum, in order to free themselves from the world of sense.

same purpose. Influential nobles without difficulty obtained permission to make use of the ancient monuments. In 1413 Paul Orsini received permission from John XXIII. to destroy in this wise an ancient building on the Canaparia beside the Palatine.[1] Poggio's lament over the wilful destruction of the Colosseum is undoubtedly justified.

The Circuses.

Of the Circi he mentions the Maximus, of which, covered as it was by swamps, scarcely a fragment remained.[2] The two obelisks were hidden by rubbish. The Arch of Titus which stood there had fallen to decay. In the Circus of Maxentius (which he calls the Hippodrome on the Via Appia), Poggio saw the obelisks lying in four pieces on the ground.[3]

Fora.

The Fora were scarcely recognisable. The Forum Romanum was covered with rubbish and vegetation. A row of houses stood between the Arches of Titus and Severus, two hundred of which Paul III. caused

[1] Fea, *sulle Rovine*, p. 398, mentions a sale of the stones of the Colosseum by orders of the papal legate after the year 1362, but he does not give the authority for his assertion.—The brief for Paul Orsini *dat. Romae ap. S. Petr. II. Id. Jan. a. III.* (Theiner, n. 136): *omnes et singulas quantitates lapidum Tiburtinorum—et alios cujuscunque alterius generis sive nominis lapides subtus et supra faciem hujusmodi parietis existentis in Urbe, in loco vid. Canaparia.*

[2] No trace of it was seen by Leon Batt. Alberti (*De re aedificatoria*, viii. 8: *et qualis fuerit ne minima quidem apparet conjectura*).

[3] Of great obelisks only that of the Vatican remained standing; there were also smaller obelisks on the Piazza of the Capitol and in the region Pinea. Poggio, p. 20. The *Diar. Roman.*, Mur., xxiv. 984, also says: *in platea Capitolii ante Guliam dicti capitolii.* This obelisk was sold to the Mattei by the Municipality in 1582, and now stands in the Villa Mattei. Of the obelisks in the Circus Max., the *Anon. Magliab.* says: *alia maxima omnium remansit cooperta ruinis —in circo—et laboratores cum palangis saepius inveniunt eam.*

to be pulled down for the entry of Charles V., and the road thus opened still leads across the Forum, on which oxen and pigs then pastured. Of the Comitium, Poggio affirms that he saw a wall remaining with sculptures.[1]

Thermae.

Of the Thermae huge remains existed and still exist; but as Poggio laments, they were entirely devoid of ornament. Of the Baths of Constantine a fragment still remained; of those of Alexander Severus at the Pantheon, he beheld considerable ruins. Of the Thermae of Domitian near SS. Silvestro e Martino there was scarcely a trace.

Of the Aqueducts, the *Aqua Virgo* alone at this time flowed to the city.[2]

Triumphal arches.

Triumphal arches: Poggio speaks of the Arches of Septimius, Titus, and Constantine as still standing intact; the last was called in the vulgar tongue *Trasi*, also *Trax* or *Thracius*.[3] He mentions the Arch beside S. Lorenzo in Lucina (of Domitian or Marcus Aurelius—popularly called Tripoli) and the so-called

[1] A convent for women (*Annunziata in S. Basilio*) had been established in the wall of the Forum of Augustus.

[2] *Sola ex his Virgo hodie in urbem fluit*, p. 17. Poggio was already acquainted with Frontinus, whom he himself discovered in Monte Cassino. The reservoir of the *Aqua Julia* was to him the Cimbron or the Temple of Marius, erected from the spoils of the Cimbri. And yet as late as *saec.* xii. people were aware that it belonged to an aqueduct, since in a document of 1177 we read: *unam petiam vinee juxta formam Cimbri in regione III.* Coppi, *Diss. Pontif. Acad.*, xv. p. 226.

[3] The *Anon. Magliab.* of the time of John XXIII. says that it was called *de Trasi*; I believe rather from the figures of the Dacians, which may have been called Thracians, than from *Transitus*. For in the plans of the city of the fifteenth century the arch is designated as *trax arcus* and *thracius*.

Arch of Claudius (on the Piazza Sciarra); moreover the Arch of Gallienus, fragment of that of Nerva Trajanus, and also the Arch of Lentulus on the Aventine.[1]

The columns of Trajan and Antoninus were undestroyed. The pyramid in the Borgo (*Meta Romuli*) still remained, not yet entirely robbed of its marble ornament.[2] Poggio was surprised that, in spite of its inscription, the learned Petrarch could hold the pyramid of Caius Cestius for the grave of Remus. The Mausoleum of Augustus was planted with vines. And Poggio beheld that of Cecilia Metella in great part destroyed for the purpose of obtaining lime.[3]

Bridges.

Bridges: Traffic was at this time limited to the Ponte S. Angelo, the two island bridges, and the

[1] Poggio omitted the Arch of Camillus, which was known even to Fulvius, the Quadrifons and the Goldsmiths' Arch. That near S. Celso had already disappeared. The *Anon. Magliab.* says of it: *cecidit temp. Urbani V. vetustate diruptus.* This can only have been the Arch of Theodosius, Valentinian and Gratian, of which Fulvius saw the remains excavated near S. Celso. The columns and bits of frieze built into the corner house of the *Banco di S. Spirito* are probably fragments of this arch. Poggio, but not Fulvius, still saw the Arch of P. Lentulus.

[2] Giov. Ruccellai saw it and gave its measurements in 1450: *la meta di Romolo ritratta a modo d' uno diamante punta, gira da piè braccia* 160 *cioè braccia* 40 *per ogni faccia alta braccia* 40 *tutta coperta di marmi in su che si dice essere la cenere dell' ossa del detto Romulo* (*Arch. d. S. Romana*, iv. 572).

[3] *Integrum vidi sepulchrum—Metellae, opus egregium—ad calcem postea majori ex parte exterminatum.* The *integrum* is, however, doubtful. Poggio says of the Mausoleum of Augustus: *disjectum vineis occupatur licet locus in morem collis editus conditoris* (*Augusta enim appellatur*) *nomen servet.*

Bridge of the Senators. The Janiculan Bridge (*Ponte Sisto*) was broken, and the Triumphal, the Vatican and Sublician had vanished.

In the walls of Rome, "a frail patch-work of bits of marble, stones, potsherds, and bricks," Poggio found not a trace of antiquity. He walked round them and discovered that, including the Leonina, they were about ten miles in circumference. He counted 379 towers, and his computation is the first made since the *Mirabilia*.[1]

Thirteen gates were in use as they are to-day.[2]

The hills of Rome: All the hills of Rome were deserted and fever-stricken. Solitary convents and churches then stood like country churches on the Campagna. In spite of the Senate house, the Capitol was a mass of ruins, covered with vineyards and refuse; the Palatine such a wilderness that "it no longer presented any shape." Nevertheless, the huge remains of the Septizonium of Severus still stood erect.[3]

The hills of Rome.

Such is the picture Poggio drew of Rome in the

[1] See the enumerations in vols. iii. 366, iv. 692. From Poggio's enumeration, Nibby infers a restoration under Boniface IX. or Martin V. (*Mura di Roma*, p. 284 *seq.*). Jordan, however (ii. 159), will not accept any actual re-enumeration in this case. Can this have been too tedious for a Poggio? The Aqua Claudia served, as it still does, for some distance as a wall.

[2] Poggio is guilty of some mistakes here. On this side there were only three ancient gates, *Praenestina* or *Maggiore*, *Tiburtina*, and *Nomentana* (now entirely rebuilt).

[3] Of the Capitol: *Ut vinea in Senatorum subsellia successerint, stercorum ac purgamentorum receptaculum factum.—Palatinum montem fortuna ita prostravit, ut nulla rei cujusquam effigies superextet, quam aliquid certum praeter vasta rudera queas dicere.*

beginning of the fifteenth century. It is, however, inaccurate, since many remaining monuments are omitted. If in the number and grandeur of the still existing monuments ancient Rome already bore her present aspect, the living city nevertheless possessed an entirely different character. In order to recall it, we must eliminate all that had been built since the days of Martin V. and Eugenius VI. The picture of Rome in the fourteenth century would correspond in the main to that of the thirteenth, but would show a still greater ruin in the fortresses of the nobles and the churches, and prove that several districts had been absorbed by increasing swamps and wildernesses. The imagination is incapable of depicting the imposing waste on which Petrarch gazed from the Baths of Diocletian and Poggio from the Capitol. This vast world, with its hills crowned with lonely churches, with its deserted fields, with the masses of ruins of old and new Rome and the scattered clusters of streets, resembled a wide landscape of plains and hills, to which the ancient walls of Aurelian alone gave unity. Rome at this time represented two great historic periods in ruin side by side: Pagan antiquity and the Christian Middle Ages. Imagination can scarcely frame a more interesting picture than that presented by the city at three different periods—in the time of her greatest splendour under Hadrian, in the middle period under Charles the Great, and in her deepest decadence at the end of the fourteenth century.

The thirteen regions.

After the Trastevere and the island had been reunited to the *Urbs Romana* in the beginning of the

fourteenth century, the city consisted of thirteen regions.[1] Their names first officially appear at the end of the fourteenth century and in their present order of sequence: I. *Regio Montium.* II. *Trivii* (it is uncertain whether or not the name was derived from *Trivio*). III. *Columnae* (from the column of Antoninus). IV. *Campimartis.* V. *Pontis* (from the Bridge of S. Angelo). VI. *Parionis* (from the ruins of the Theatre of Pompey). VII. *Arenulae* (Regola, from the sandy bank of the river). VIII. *S. Eustachii.* IX. *Pinea* (from a pine or pine-cone). X. *Campitelli* (from the Capitol). XI. *S. Angeli* (from the church of that name). XII. *Ripae* (from the shore of the Tiber). XIII. *Transtiberis.* The ancient division of the regions with their names had gradually and long since disappeared, in consequence of the change in streets and quarters. In earlier times mediaeval Rome had had ten regions. As the city became more populous, they increased to twelve on the left bank of the Tiber, to which Trastevere was added as the thirteenth. We can scarcely doubt that the new division was made after 1143. But finally, in the course of the thirteenth century, the names which the regions still bear became established.[2]

[1] In the ratification of the Statutes of the Roman merchants in 1305, we find *XIII anziani unus vid. per quamlibet regionem urbis. Statuti dei Mercanti di Roma*, ed. Gat i, Rome, 1887, p. 57.

[2] The names in the treaty with Bonif. IX., A. 1393. Papencordt, p. 53, from a Turin Codex, gives the following list of the thirteen regions in the Avignon period, with their old and new names:—I. *Montium et Biberate.* II. *Trivii et Vielate.* III. *Columpne et S. M. in Aquiro.* IV. *Posterule et S. Laur. in Lucina.* V. *Pontis et Scortichiariorum.* VI. *Eustachii et Vinee Tedemarii.* VII. *Arenule*

The arms of the regions.

Each region had a captain (Caporione), who possessed jurisdiction over it. All the caporioni elected a prior as their president. Each owned its banner, and the armorial bearings probably arose before the thirteenth century. Region I. still bears argent, three hills vert. II. Gules, three swords. III. Gules, the column. IV. Azure, a crescent. V. Gules, the bridge with towers. VI. Argent, a griffin gules. VII. Azure, a stag argent. VIII. Gules, the portrait of Christ between the horns of a stag, according to the legend of S. Eustachio. IX. Gules, a pine-cone. X. Argent, dragon's head sable. XI. Argent, an angel (the earlier arms were azure, a fish argent). XII. Gules, a wheel (the emblem of the Via Appia). XIII. Gules, a lion's head.

Of these quarters the most populous in the fourteenth century were those of Ponte, Parione, Pinea, and Trastevere.[1]

et Chacabariorum. VIII. *Parionis et S. Laur. in Damaso.* IX. *Pinee et S. Marci.* X. *Angeli in Foro Piscium.* XI. *Ripe et Marmorate.* XII. *Campitelli et S. Adriani.* XIII. *Transtiberim.* A list of the regions is found in the *Polistoria* of John Caballini, Urlich's *Cod. Urb. R.*, p. 145.—These names are alternatively used in *saec.* xiv. In 1343 I find *Regio S. Adriani; R. Caccabariorum* (perhaps from *Cacabi*, bronze vessels?). In 1374 *R. Biberatica* is still written (instead of *Montium*). In *saec.* xiii. the names of the early Middle Ages are still in use, as in 1216, *R. Curtis Dompne Micine.* Again, in 1192, *R. Caballi Marmorei* (instead of *Biberatice* or *Montium*). But the idea of Regio was not firmly established before the fourteenth century.

[1] This I gather from the treaty of 1393, which was signed by the councillors of each region; from *Ponte* 20; *Parione* 15; *Pinea* 15; *Trastevere* 15; *Colonna* 11; *S. Eustachio* 10; *Campitelli* 9; *Trevi* 9; *Regola* 8; *S. Angelo* 6; *Ripa* 6; *Campomarzo* 4; the number of councillors was undoubtedly in proportion to the population.

Each region contained several streets (*contrata*, *via*, *viculus*) and squares (*platea*, *piazza*, occasionally, if very large and like a field, *campus*). As early as the thirteenth century the maintenance of these regions was provided for by *magistri hedificiorum et viarum Almae urbis*, officials who recalled the ancient aediles.[1] Scarcely any pavement other than that of ancient times was seen in Rome, but few streets still followed their ancient course. Such, however, were the *Subura*, *Caput Africae*, the *Merulana*, the *Via Lata*, the *Via in Silice*, the *Ascensa*, the *Clivus Scauri*, *Magnanapoli*. Their names were derived from monuments, families, towers, churches, guilds, and other local features.[2] We cannot sufficiently picture the utter disorder of these streets, blocked by rubbish heaps, marshes, and patches of cultivation as they were. Streets and squares.

The Roman houses of this period consisted entirely of brick, but had many additions of wood, as we still see in Trastevere. Their balconies, loggie, Architecture.

[1] Brugiotti, *Epitome juris viarum*, c. iii. p. 33.

[2] I give some: *Contrata Colisei*. *Via trium columnarum* (near *S. Maria Libera nos*). *Laterani*. *IV. capitum* (thus in the beginning of *saec.* ix. *in Ripa*, probably from the bridge). *Calcararii* (now *Via de' Cesarini*). *De Caballo Marmoreo*. *Porticus Galatorum* (*Ripa*). *Campitelli*. *Pinea*. *De Militiis*. *Torre dello Conte*. *Contrada Suburre*. *De Archionibus* (still *Arcione*). *De Praefectis* (still the same). *Piscinula* (the same). *Via Papalis* (the same). *De Funariis* (the same). *Mercato*. *Contrata Buccamatiorum* (still the same, from the family of *Buccamazi*). *Apothecarum* (*botteghe oscure*). *In Tellude* (Palatine). *In Settizonio*. *Ad Gallinas albas* (*S. Agatha in Suburra*). *Campus Caloleonis* (*Carleone*). *Cella nova*. *Inter duos hortos*. *Ad duos amantes*. *Via Mercatorum* (*Ponte*). *Faba Tosta* (in the neighbourhood of the Arch of Severus). *La Roccia* and *Cannapara* (between the Capitol and Palatine).

and entrances rendered still narrower the tortuous streets. The ground-floor of the larger houses was formed of Roman arches resting on pillars. These pillars were taken from ancient monuments; the most magnificent marble or granite columns were cut down to fit them for houses. Of all cities Rome was the richest in columns. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and even much earlier, the arcaded streets of Rome resembled the streets of Bologna at the present day. Even now we can form a clear idea of this style of architecture, best in the Regola, one of the oldest quarters of the city. The columns which we there find built into the walls of several houses were taken from the Theatre of Balbus, which provided material for the neighbourhood. The Theatre of Marcellus, the Circus Flaminius, the Theatre of Pompey, the Portico of Octavia, and other great monuments furnished the surrounding district in like manner with stones and columns, which may still be discovered in many houses.[1] Gothic architecture added foreign ornament to the round-arched Roman houses; but these ornaments were in general restricted to the windows,

[1] In 1321 Niccolò Angeli sold *in contrata mercati* his *palatium columpnatum cum salis et cameris et cum quod. Lovio* (arbour) *retro: Gaetani Archives*, xlviii. 28. An ancient palace of this description with columns and a tower stands in the *Vicolo delle Boccie* in Trastevere, with the inscription *Domus Libera D. Catherinae Claverinae de Spoturnis;* it is one of the oldest houses in Rome, before the adoption of Gothic architecture. This quarter, the end of the *Lungaretta* with the remains of seven towers, is one of the most remarkable in Rome. Besides this, the oldest architecture is found in the Regola, in *Via di Peschiera*, and perhaps the earliest house of mediaeval times is that adjoining the ancient arch close to S. Angelo.

which were encased with black peperino. These half Gothic windows were everywhere in use in the fourteenth century, and several remain to present times.[1]

Population.

The number of inhabitants at this period is uncertain. The opinion that in the time of Gregory XI. it only amounted to 17,000 must be rejected as absolutely untenable. But Petrarch's assertion, that Rome appeared empty on account of her great circumference, but contained an "immense" population, is an exaggeration. When it is proved by statistics, that in the beginning of the sixteenth century the city only contained 85,000 inhabitants, and in the year 1663 only numbered 105,433, can we believe that she was more thickly populated in the time of her greatest decadence?[2]

The same darkness broods over the state of the Campagna. The *Ager Romanus* was at that time as utterly forsaken as it is to-day. Shepherds

[1] In the quarter Campitelli, the house of S. Francesca Romana, now Tor di Specchi, undoubtedly dates from *saec.* xiv. To the same Gothic period belongs the tower (still inhabited) opposite S. Cecilia. Also the back of the Molara palace in Trastevere. The house, No. 52, in the Leonina near the Suburra. The ancient Gothic house, Macell di Corvi, No. 88. The convent of the Annunziata in the Forum of Augustus.

[2] This opinion (Cancellieri's) has been refuted by Papencordt in *Cola*, p. 14, since in 1312 the number of Henry VII.'s adherents amounted to 10,000 men in arms, and M. Villani (xi. 25) in 1362 gives the number of Romans capable of bearing arms as 22,000. This number must have included the militia in the urban district, since otherwise Rome would have contained over 100,000 inhabitants.—Petrarca: *In illa urbe tam magna, quae cum propter spacium vacua videatur, populum habet immensum. Famil.*, vi. 2.

with their flocks already descended from the Abruzzi to winter in the fields of Rome, as they do even now, and the fact shows that agriculture had in great measure disappeared from that district.[1]

[1] The *Dogana della Mena* seems to have already existed. Theiner, iii. n. 64, contains a safe conduct for the shepherds from Boniface IX. (Rome, September 7, 1402): *Cum nonnulli—tam de Aprutina, quam de aliis partib. cum eor. armentis ad pascua Romana, seu provincie nostre Patrim. B. Petri in Tuscia, et loca finitima ad hyemandum venire—proponant—universis et singulis—in quocunque numero, cum hujusm. armentis, pastorib., salmis, reb., et bonis eor. in here ac personis—debitis tamen et consuetis solutis pedagiis et gabellis salvum—conductum—concedimus.* For centuries shepherds had come down from mountainous districts to the Roman Campagna, where as early as the fourteenth century the extensive pasturage had assumed its present form. See the last work on the subject, *Die Röm. Campagna*, an excellent study in social economy, by Werner Sombart, Leipzig, 1888.

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